JPRS 78136

21 May 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1881

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STUDY ON STABILITY OF MATRIMONY

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 14 Apr 81 p 3

/Article by Maria Dinkova, candidate of philosophy: "Is Contemporary Marriage Stable?"/

/Text/ There is no doubt that the concept of matrimonial stability could be accepted as a continuous and juridically sanctioned relationship between husband and wife. In such a case stability of matrimony in a given social community should be measured by the divorce coefficient only. Within the framework of sociology, however, it could and should be considered from the viewpoint of a real union between husband and wife, of the satisfaction with their matrimonial relationship, of the high feeling of obligation to each other, or, in general, of the normal realization of the matrimonial functions. This conception was also applied in the 1977 national survey of the Bulgarian family by instruction of the State Council.

Our data firmly confirm that the Bulgarian family is in the process of forming new marital structures. Many of these structures have come closer to the model of the matrimonial bond, which presumes equality between husband and wife, mutual respect for their individual needs and interests and a rich spectrum of friendly relations.

Most of the families surveyed are satisfied with their marital relationship. At the same time, however, it is obvious that the Bulgarian family has not yet reached real maturity in its striving to equate itself with the model of a good matrimonial bond and there are many couples whose marital relationship is not satisfactory.

If we took the general results from the survey of the adopted indicators for marriage stability, we would get the following interesting picture:

Degree of satisfaction with marital relationship: in 56 percent of the families surveyed both husband and wife said they were fully satisfied with their marital relationship; in 10 percent of the families both were partially satisfied; in 25 percent both mates expressed satisfaction but in different degrees; in 6 percent at least one of the spouses was not satisfied and in 1 percent of the families both were not satisfied (2 percent of the families did not answer the questions).

Confidence or lack of it in the mate's support: in 35 percent of the families surveyed both spouses expressed confidence that their mate was willing to support them in all their endeavors; in 39 percent only one of the spouses answered affirmatively

and in 25 percent neither of the spouses gave any affirmative information (2 percent did not answer the questions). However, about 80 percent of the spouses (women and men) answered that the family was their pillar of support; about 13 percent answered "to a certain degree" and 5 percent were not sure (2 percent did not answer the questions).

Confidence or lack of it that the matrimonial bond enables each marriage partner to grow as an individual: 73 percent of the men and 59 percent of the women answered affirmatively; 7 percent of the men and 10 percent of the women said the matrimonial bond has contributed insignificantly in their growth as individuals; 16 percent of the men and 28 percent of the women were unable to judge and about 2 percent of the men and women said that the family was hindering their growth as individuals.

Confidence or lack of it that husband and wife fully understand the needs and interests of each other: 52 percent of the men stated "my wife understands me better than anybody else." Similar was the statement of 44 percent of the women.

Feelings between spouses: in 35 percent of the families husband and wife were unanimous in their statement that they were in love with each other; in 27 percent of the families husband and wife had a feeling of friendship toward each other; in 31 percent one spouse was in love, the other had a feeling of friendship; in 5 percent of the families at least one or both mates were indifferent and even disliked each other (2 percent did not answer the questions).

Harmonious relationship between spouses: in 53 percent of the families both spouses usually consult each other; in 9 percent of the families the spouses consult each other occasionally; in 36 percent only one of the spouses consults with the other and in less than 1 percent neither consults with the other (about 1 percent did not answer the questions). However, when asked how they reached decisions on specific family problems, about 70 to 80 percent of the spouses answered that such decisions were made by mutual consent.

Arguments between spouses: in 24 percent of the families the couples have many arguments; in 25 percent they have a moderate number of arguments; in 20 percent they have occasional arguments, and in 15 percent, according to both spouses, they have no arguments; in 12 percent the couples gave contradictory information (4 percent of the families did not answer the questions).

Desire for divorce: in 2 percent of the families both husband and wife said they wanted a divorce; in 5 percent, only the wife; in 3 percent, only the husband; in 87 percent of the families neither husband nor wife had any desire to divorce (3 percent did not answer the questions).

In this general picture the Bulgarian family has no doubt exaggerated to a certain degree its virtues but the restraint in spelling out most sincerely the difficulties in the marital relationship is also informative by itself. In fact this information shows most obviously that the majority of the families care about their reputation and do not wish to discuss their troubles outside the family. Such a position is in fact a synthesized indicator of the family's stability. However, the abundant and statistically important information that we were able to gather on the stability of matrimony and the existence of obviously quite unstable marital relations, enables us to judge the tendencies in the development and problems of the contemporary marriage in our country. Most important is the fact that these statistical data enable us to throw light on the factors that stabilize or destabilize the contemporary marriage.

There are obviously many factors which affect the stability of marriage and our survey proves it. I would like to point out in this instance some of the factors which are rarely mentioned in the sociological world literature. We are speaking about factors connected with the social status of the married couples and which we would conditionally divide into two groups.

Group 1: factors connected with the equality of women in the political, economic and social life as well as in the family.

Group 2: factors connected with the social activity of the spouses.

The first group refers to: the attitude of the spouses toward the emancipation of women; the friendly cooperation between the spouses in their professional advancement; the mutual interest of the spouses in their professional activities; the understanding between the spouses in the field of their sociopolitical activity; the friendly cooperation between the spouses in the division of housework and of the functions connected with child rearing.

The analysis of our data leads to the conclusion that the more strongly the spouses believe that the emancipation of women benefits family life and that equality through friendly cooperation contributes to the social and professional progress of their mate, the more stable the marriage is.

The second group refers to: the success of the spouses in their professional work; the satisfaction of the spouses with their profession; whether the work of the spouses is interesting or not; the attitude of the spouses toward labor as a value; the sociopolitical activity of the spouses.

There is no direct connection between the marriage relationship and these out-of-the-home activities, but precisely because of that our conclusion is even more significant, showing that in families where spouses are involved in responsible social activities, the share of more successful marriages is considerably greater.

In the last analysis our data undoubtedly prove that, along with the social processes which destabilize the family, there are other, powerful ones, which unite the spouses on a new basis. The equality of women and the inclusion of both spouses in the professional labor force does not necessarily weaken the marital relationship as was predicted in the social literature. To the contrary, under our contemporary conditions the greatest share of good marital relationships between spouses evolves in cases where one or both of them abide by concrete traditional values in family life, by the principle that the wife should hold secondary position in the family and that her main purpose should be the home and the family wellbeing.

It was also proven that it is not only the combined work in the family collective, which is also an economic unit, that helps marital stability. The professional success of both spouses nowadays enriches their intellectual interests and at the same time broadens the range of their mutual interests as well, which leads to another kind of unity, strengthening the social functions of the marriage.

In conclusion we should say that not all factors that contribute to the stability of matrimony are valid for all social conditions and that each social system has its own stabilizing factors. This makes it even more convincing according to the sociological and strictly juridical criteria that marriage in the socialist society will become even more stable in the future and will affirm its maturity.

1010

CSO: 2200/75

BRIEFS

LOYALTY OATH BY CLERGYMEN--The Superintendent of the Methodist Church of Czechoslovakia Dr Vilem Schneeberger; the Chairman of the Inner (uzka) Council of the Union of Czech Brethren Jindrich Halama; the Bishop of Brno Diocese of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church Dr Rudolf Medek and the Chairman of the Council of Jewish Communities in Bohemia and Moravia Dr Dezider Galsky, CSc, were administered a loyalty oath to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by the CSR Minister of Culture Milan Klusak yesterday. [Text] [Prague PRACE in Czech 29 Apr 81 p 3]

CSO: 2400/177

TISCH ADDRESSES 13th FDGB SESSION, ATTACKS AFL-CIO SUPPORT FOR WALESA

East Berlin TRIBUENE in German 23 Apr 81 pp 3-5

[Excerpts from speech by Harry Tisch, chairman, FDGB National Executive Committee, to the 13th Session of the FDGB National Executive Committee: "The Tasks of the Trade Unions in Carrying Out the Resolutions of the 10th SED Congress"]

[Text] Dear colleagues and comrades!

Few days have passed since the 10th SED Congress.

What had already revealed itself while we were getting ready for that historic event in the life of our party and of our whole socialist society was carried on a millionfold during and right after the party congress: the policy of the working class party and its efforts and struggle for a life in happiness and peace find increasing support from the workers class and all working people, young and old. It is demonstrated by the new competition resolutions.

The party's word is understood. It inspires and lends substance and purpose to what one does. The party's word mobilizes for brave and creative actions, always mindful of the fact that everything serves its own well-being and that of the whole people.

The 10th party congress was another manifestation of this close relationship of trust between the party and the people. The report submitted by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, illuminates: all that we are today and the position we occupy in the international arena, what we have achieved and what we can achieve, the joint efforts of the party and the people have brought it about.

Under party leadership the working people have erected a socialist state, strong politically and economically, defying the class enemy's attacks from outside, undertaking new tasks of social progress today.

By its resolutions the party underscores its great scientific-creative abilities in continuing to create, even under altered foreign political and economic conditions, the developed socialist society successfully and thus, the fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism.

Both the report and the discussion contributions expressed the party's uanimous intention to carry on the program on full employment, people's prosperity and stability.

The course of the main task policy will continue to govern our path. In a busy and optimistic atmosphere, the highest organ of our party explained the ways and means by which we shall meet the challenges of the 1980's. We wish to thank the party congress delegates, the party's Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, cordially for this successful work of the 10th party congress and its results in the name of 9 million FDGB members.

Worldwide Resonance to the Results of the 10th Party Congress

The course, results and resolutions of the 10th SED Congress have met with worldwide resonance.

Representatives of 125 parties from 109 countries with great satisfaction took cognizance of the fact that the leading force in the socialist GDR has a clear and comprehensive conception on the safeguarding of peace and dedicates itself to it with all its strength. The communists in the homeland of Marx and Engels once again demonstrated their love for and loyalty to Lenin's party, the revolutionary vanguard of the communist world movement.

The 26th CPSU Congress sparked new initiatives for peace, disarmament, security and peaceful coexistence. The CPSU peace program unmasks and thwarts imperialism's intrigues that endanger the peace. Like a red thread there goes through the 26th CPSU Congress resolutions as well as those of the party congresses in the fraternal countries and those of our 10th party congress the observation that our parties are aware of their responsibility they bear for the fate of mankind.

Only the communists can solve the present problems of humanity in the interest of the peace-loving peoples. The dangers emanating today from imperialism threaten the life of all peoples at once. By all conceivable means the class enemies, the enemies of social progress, can come up with, they seek to halt and reverse the objective course of history. It has now been proven thousand times: the threat to peace and to humanity emanates from imperialism.

With an unprecedented twisting and distortion of facts and under the banner of some hysterical anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, with blackmail methods and an open threat of force, and mainly through an unconstrained armaments drive, they are making a stand against socialism and any progressive movement.

At present the class enemy again meddles with matters that are not his business at all. They have incurred the guilt to peace-loving mankind of exacerbating the international situation at the start of the eighth decade, poisoning the community of nations by their confrontation policy, and acting as dangerous arsonists.

No one can stand idly by. No one is excused from his personal responsibility in matters of war or peace. Too valuable is what we have built up laboriously for allowing it to be touched, or even destroyed, by adventurist imperialist policy.

We, our children and future generations are entitled to a life in peace. For that reason we intensify our struggle and defend our achievements. We know ourselves at one in this struggle with all progressive forces in the world.

The 10th party congress was an overwhelming manifestation of international class solidarity that showed the peoples on the earth who it is that needs, wants and creates peace. The trade unions in socialism join the front rank of this struggle. We presented our position on that at the 10th party congress.

There can be no better representation of interests for the trade unions in the GDR than to fight side by side with all progressive forces in the world against the dangers of another war and secure a life of human dignity for ourselves and the future generations.

The trade unions must take up a position in the international class conflict between socialism and capitalism. No one can remain neutral in the struggles of our time. And that holds true particularly right now, when imperialism is steering a course of intensified confrontation against all progressive movements--which include the trade unions.

With unprecedented slander and agitation especially the trade unions in socialism are being attacked. Distorting the position of trade unions in socialism and marking them as an appendage of the party and the state, the enemy in this connection most blatantly interferes in our internal affairs.

That includes the so-called advice he has been offering for decades on what the trade unions ought to do. The class enemy has prepared and advertised whole models for it. It all amounts to scrap from the outset.

The opportunists and revisionists cannot and will not understand the trade unions' role in socialism. These prophets walk with blinders through the world. They do not want to accept the fundamental changes that have come to pass since the Red October and are still going on. And what is worse still: all these so-called pieces of advice, neutrality theories and so forth only serve the class interests of the bourgeoisie and intend to distance the trade unions from any contact with socialism.

Let us reverse the question: what rights do the trade unions enjoy in capitalism? The work of the allegedly free and independent trade unions in capitalism offers us a visual-aid type of instruction almost every day on how confined it is. Precisely those who offer us advice have nothing to say in their own country. There is a lot of talk, but unemployment remains and expands, and the anxiety about tomorrow increases. Trade union leaders in capitalist countries are bargaining with entrepremeurs associations for higher wages but cannot halt the inflationary avalanche.

What is wrested from the exploiters the capitalist state at once takes from them again in the form of a rising cost of living, still higher taxes and armaments burdens. With it comes a total demoralization of public life, growing crime and boundless drug addiction, destroying the fundamental conditions for human societal living.

Nothing will change in this as long as the trade unions in capitalism fail to tackle the basic contradiction between capital and labor.

Then Harry Tisch took issue in his speech with the most recent anticommunist attacks by responsible trade union functionaries in the DGB who, for instance, sought to deny the great role of the communists in creating unified trade unions. That turned historical truth upside down, the speaker said and recalled that the communists had always fought for unified trade unions, and how the FDGB successfully developed in 1945, with active support from the working class party, as a unified trade union, when there was no sign as yet of the DGB. At all interzonal conferences of trade union delegates from all four zones of occupation at the time, the progressive forces always urged the formation of united trade unions for all of Germany. The chairman remarked that anticommunist agitation prejudiced the cause of normal international relations among trade union organizations and also referred to the reactionary intrigues by leaders of the American AFL-CIO trade unions. After having obstructed normal relations with trade unions in socialist countries for many years, they now acted as if they had discovered their heart was on the side of socialism. Through considerable financial and material means for Walesa's trade union in Poland, they are interfering in the affairs of that socialist country with the intention of establishing a counter-force against the PZPR and further escalating the confrontation with the socialist state. Harry Tisch expressed the hope and expectation that Poland's communists and patriots would succeed in turning back all counterrevolutionary attacks claiming Poland to have been, to be and remain socialist.

With reference to the history and current situation of the FDGB, the chairman continued: Never shall we abandon our Marxist-Leninist principles. Therefore we are not neutral but are active shapers of socialism. Since the founding of the FDGB we have been fighting for the good of the workers class and of all working people.

Even at its third congress, the FDGB defined its political position in socialism. For the first time in the history of the German workers movement a trade union congress thus espoused Marxism-Leninism, the leading role of the revolutionary working class party, the friendship with the Soviet Union and the principles of proletarian internationalism. Thereby was brought to realization in the GDR the dream of the old trade unionists to have a weighty word to say on all matters concerning the life of the working people and to be creatively involved in the decision-making on all important problems.

All experiences in the trade unions' struggle for abolishing capital rule and establishing the socialist social order underscore it can be successful only under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party.

Thus we converted the enterprises of the Nazi activists and war criminals into public property, chased out the large landed property owners and junkers, broke the educational privilege of the propertied class, and established the political rule of the workers class, the main instrument for the construction of socialism or, as Lenin has said, "the only door into the new society!"

The most important thing needed to preserve and secure peace we do have: Power we have, which gives us the prerequisites for shaping life in conformity with the interests of the working people. We shall endeavor to consolidate this power, and protect and defend it. Always shall we work by the side of the party and prove ourselves loyal fellow combatants of the party.

The Policy of the Main Task Encourages Creativity

The policy of the main task, issued at the Eighth SED Congress and confirmed by the ninth and 10th party congresses, this general party line, has released great creative reserves in our country. Truly this policy is of historic significance, it reflects the gigantic efforts of the party.

Every citizen increasingly senses the advantages from dedicating oneself to the program for full employment, the people's prosperity, growth and stability. By this smooth economic development we implement a sociopolitical program unprecedented in the history of our people. Never before did the trade unions have such opportunities for so comprehensively representing the interests of their members as today in the energetic implementation of party policy. Qualitatively new demands and tasks arise for trade union work from the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

The economic strategy for the 1980's, as decided on by the 10th SED Congress, is fully endorsed by the trade unions. The close relationship of trust between the people and the party, the creative and diligent work of the working people, and the use made of the advantages of socialism guarantee the successful mastery of future tasks through a high boost in economic efficiency.

While preparing for the 10th party congress, socialist competition in all economic areas turned into the largest and most comprehensive popular movement. In implementation of the far-reaching resolutions of the 10th SED Congress, we find our trade union responsibility in directing all of the working people's initiatives at still more purposefully applying the considerably greater material and intellectual potential of our country so that we achieve a high boost in performance, productivity and efficiency and greatly exceed the rates of increase thus far.

New Competition Initiatives as a Direct Response

Initiatives released as a direct response to the historic resolutions of the 10th SED Congress by the working people of VEB Carl Zeiss Jena, the Fritz Heckert VEB machine tool combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt, the Walter Ulbricht VEB Leuna Works and the Schwedt VEB petrochemical combine live up to these new requirements.

Working youth also joins the lead. The upbeat for the performance comparison of the youth brigades within the framework of socialist competition came from the Hans Kiefert youth brigade in the combine for underground structures in our capital.

The resolutions on carrying on socialist competition in 1981, as adopted in the plenary meetings of shop stewards, in every way conform with the pace needed for the 1980's and set a model for the contest among all labor and enterprise collectives.

"High performance growth through increasing labor productivity, efficiency and quality--all for the good of the people and for peace!" is the slogan under which those enterprise collectives express the motives of their efforts and point to the way how to achieve the higher performance growth.

That is a high demand placed on all competition participants and their political and technical skill in fully unfolding their wealth of ideas, deriving more from what we have by tapping all reserves and thus making a creative contribution to achieving highest results through the lowest possible costs.

And always the principle applies: whatever is of benefit to society benefits the individual also. This is the realization from which the resolutions of the enterprise and combine collectives proceed for achieving additional commodity production in the form of available end products at the clip of three working days in 1981. The first extra daytime volume production having been computed up to the 10th party congress, the second is meant to come in late August and the third, by the year's end.

The magnitude of this task can be seen clearly only if one considers that even the planned rate of growth of 5.8 percent in industrial commodity production this year is very demanding and exceeds that of previous years.

Let us state once more unequivocally: it is not a matter of producing more per se. What we need are distributable and accountable end products.

We shall reach our goals by making ever better use of the advantages of our socialist order and by fully exhausting the great new possibilities provided through the formation and development of efficient combines.

Scientific-technical progress holds the key for the desired growth in efficiency. The best possible economic utilization of scientific-technical data is the crucial connecting link for a dynamic and stable rate of economic growth.

Foreign political and economic conditions, the greater demands made on our extracting our own raw materials, and the manpower situation permit no alternatives.

We thus find our trade union task in bringing a still more effective influence to bear, through socialist competition, on an accelerated utilization of all scientific-technical data and results achieved, the development and application of new working principles, more effective technologies and procedures, the broad development, production and application of microelectronics, industrial robots, electronic guidance systems and computer technology.

That not only leads to much higher economic results, it also places many new demands and conditions on the activity of the working people. What matters is to accomplish a greater production result through identical or smaller costs, produce more top-grade commodities and, at the same time, make the working people's working conditions more creative, challenging, easier and more performance-promoting.

It also calls for a higher level of vocational training and of skills learned on the job. More importance, after all, attaches also to acquiring political and moral

modes of conduct such as performance willingness, an active attitude toward science and technology, and the desire to keep learning.

Trade union boards and managements must assist in the systematic development of vocational and training structures resulting in consequence of economic policy decisions. They call for long-term preparation and implementation.

The trade unions do all they can to develop through socialist competition a higher grade and new forms of socialist cooperative work. That applies to what happens inside the enterprises and combines as much as to the cooperation among enterprises, combines, academies, science institutions and universities.

Production-related comprehensive competition keeps gaining in importan The labor unions and trade unions bear a great responsibility for organizin form of competition.

The effectiveness of socialist competition in accelerating scientific-technical progress improves, especially in the production preparation areas, mainly when its targets are derived from concrete assignments in commitment contracts. In them we must pose concrete, accountable parameters--measured against the highest world standards--and technical-economic parameters and limits.

Highest requirements here are placed upon the researchers, developers, designers, technologists and economists. Along with product development or rationalization, and with the development or modernization of technological procedures of forms of labor organization, they also mold the working people's future mode of labor.

Firm Unity Between Economic and Social Targets

The unity of economic and social targets, expressed in our party's overall policy, also is basic to socialist rationalization and thus conforms with the working people s interests. A decisive task is to cut down on working time and, above all, on jobs, through socialist rationalization.

That holds true especially for the producing areas, so as to achieve a steep rise in labor productivity. A more rational use of labor assets must also be enforced with greater vigor in management and administrative activity.

For instance, one out of every four jobs were administrative ones among the overall 201 jobs that were cut down in the VEB Upper Lusatian textile enterprise of Neugersdorf through a broad application of time-saving working methods in production and administration. Good results also in the socialist rationalization of management, administration and production preparation were achieved by the Paul Schaefer VEB shoe factory in Erfurt. Almost 8 percent of the administrative personnel was cut back there last year alone.

Enforcing comprehensive rationalization, wherever attempted, does of course call for great efforts in politically and ideologically preparing for it. As trade unions we always have to bring our influence to bear on insuring a unity and interaction between performance boosts and the working people's working and living conditions.

The more we concern ourselves with the seemingly petty and specific problems of the working people as early as when the rationalization measures are being prepared and organized, the greater will the working people's readiness be to help implement those rationalization tasks, and the more success will be in them. This presupposes that we know from the outset all the ramifications rationalization will have in the labor law situation and turn that, through suitable solutions, into an element of the rationalization conceptions.

Training measures taken in good time and an attention to longtime work experiences, to wage, vacation and working time matters, are as much part of it as the transitional contract that eventually becomes necessary with its getting used to working in a new enterprise, a new task and, frequently, a new work collective. Many reserves also can be tapped by a further development of working in shifts and a more rational utilization of the means of production.

Early this year, almost 250 industrial enterprises carried out surveys on the use made of new production equipment. They brought out great differences existing in this among the various enterprises and combines. Whereas, for example, the time of use per day of modern machines and installations comes to around 15 hours or more in the Wilhelm Pieck Mansfeld Combine, the Fritz Heckert machine tool combine or the textile combine, it only comes to 7.2 hours in the Zeulenroda furniture combine, to 9 hours in Robotron, and to 9.5 hours in the IFA automobile combine.

Such unjustifiably large differences between technologically comparable enterprises are continuing. Let us take, for instance, two enterprises in the GISAG Combine. The Harzgerode cast-iron plant operates the most modern technology for 14.5 hours, but that of Heidenau, only for 9.8 hours. Such differences suggest considerable efficiency reserves. No one has the right to squander, or deal cavalierly with, the people's wealth.

By far most of the working people fulfill their labor obligation in an exemplary manner and demonstrate high labor ethics and labor discipline. Deliberately and consciously abiding by socialist legal norms, the labor code obligations, the labor contract and the industrial regulations, the protection of socialist property and the most careful handling of values in one's charge prove a crucial prerequisite for great efficiency improvements.

It is gratifying that the working people, aware of their responsibility, react more and more intolerantly to violations of labor obligations and expect of the managers and of their trade union management that they consistently use the possibilities socialist law provides for them to insure order, discipline and safety.

In this we should more vigorously support the group functionaries and foremen in the labor collectives. They are dealing directly with the working people. Against their example they mainly measure the quality of trade union representation of interests and of economic management activity.

For the full development of the creative initiatives of the workers class, the intelligentsia and other working people, the proper application of the performance principle is highly important. The performance-oriented wage policy passed by the Ninth SED Congress has been found expedient under practical conditions. It has the working people's approval and greatly contributes both to the efficiency improvements and to elevating the working people's standard of living.

Now it is our task to continue this performance-oriented wage policy at a higher qualitative level. That means above all directing production wage incentives at those preformance factors that lead to still greater productivity, quality and efficiency of labor.

The trade unions are dedicated to achieving much greater incentives everywhere through the planned funds of labor income. Not one step must be taken without them in this field of labor and wages touching the working people's interests directly. To that every trade union management must be stubbornly devoted and must make every effort to create an atmosphere of struggle for high achievements, borne by initiatives, through skillfully preparing those measures in political, economic and organizational terms.

Higher Demands Placed on the Innovators and Rationalizers

A still more comprehensive intensification and socialist rationalization also place higher demands on the innovators and rationalizers in socialist competition. As trade unions we must see to it through our political-ideological work that the creativity of the working people in the innovator movement is still more purposefully fostered and innovator activity, as a form of our exercise of power and of socialist democracy, is more and more extensively developed at a higher level. The whole point of innovator activity in socialist rationalization is that more be done for improving production efficiency, having society derive a greater benefit from lower costs and, inseparably connected with it, improving the material working conditions.

A focal point for the political management of the innovator movement by the trade unions is our seeing to it that the state managers create the kind of preconditions that make it possible for the innovators to solve and apply scientific-technical tasks through creative achievements.

The crucial task lies in assigning in a more skillful manner to the innovators concrete tasks in the science and technology plan and in the rationalization conceptions. To that end we must mainly improve the quality of the planning of tasks for collective innovator activity. Yet not only for innovator collectives is a planned requirement needed, but also for the massive production of innovator proposals a targeted orientation to solving the problems and tasks is imperative.

As trade unions we hold the unequivocal view--confirmed by experiences in many combines--that one cannot sit and wait for innovator proposals, but that the creative work of the working people, their drive to have innovations carried into practice, must be challenged and organized.

The economic efficiency improvement tasks before us require us to orient more strongly still all the ideas and thoughts of the innovators and their technical-creative efforts to the higher rationalization requirements such as the use of microelectronics, robot and computer technology, and a more efficient development of their own construction of means of rationalization--including the further improvement in material working conditions.

In this, all the constraints have to come down that cause a drag on the way they are processed and unjustified delays in their being put into operation. Considerable reserves in the creativity of our innovators, one must know, often are found in subjective attitudes on the part of management activity blocking greater efficiency and better qualities of innovator activity.

As trade unions we are dedicated to achieving higher economic efficiency on a new basis through intensification, reconstruction and rationalization by lowest possible costs.

The qualitatively new targets of our economic policy in reducing production consumption and decisively improving the economic end product have to be attained in such a way that the produced national income grows faster than does industrial commodity production.

As one knows, the planned high efficiency improvement, the much greater availability of end products for public consumption, for the economy and for export must be guaranteed especially under these conditions where the use of raw materials and other materials and of energy remains the same or is only slightly increased. It is a matter of life and death for our economy.

Therefore we as trade unions have the task to deepen the realization among all working people, through target-directed political-ideological work, that it is a basic economic requirement for us to make more out of what we have got and make a complete use of the raw and other materials and the energy available to us to come up with a qualitatively and quantitatively growing end product. The reuse of secondary raw materials also is of special importance to this.

Such a discipline in a thrifty and effective use of energy, raw materials and other material has to be enforced in all areas. That also applies to improving the output and availability of high-grade consumer goods, by which we can successfully carry on our party policy as aimed at the well-being of the people. All science and technology data must also in this field be made still more effective.

Already while the plan is being drawn up and our competition is organized must our trade union influence be directed at having mass consumer goods produced at requisite volumes and qualities, according to demands, and made available to the population in their lower, medium and upper price ranges.

In the combines and enterprises all capacities must be used and initiatives be used for producing highly consumption-effective consumer goods that are new and conform with optimum scientific-technical standards. Inseparably connected with that is a production, according to demands, of the thousand small items and the availability of spare parts.

Ever better satisfying the growing demands also depends on other factors, of course. Therefore our higher economic efficiency also must be used for significantly expanding the export capacity of our combines and enterprises.

Export to the Soviet Union is of first-rank political importance in our economic policy. It conforms to our class and alliance obligation to the Soviet Union, to our indestructible fraternal relations, and to our joint responsibility to socialism and to the safeguarding of peace, meeting all tasks set down in our specialization and cooperation program at highest qualities and proper as to assortments and deadlines. Through our exports we share the responsibility to fulfilling the economic strategy set down by the 26th CPSU Congress, which in turn also serves our own interests. At the same time it is a matter of purposefully implementing all the other obligations arising from socialist economic integration, whereby we make our contribution to the all-round strengthening of the socialist community of states.

Great efforts are also needed to boost our exports to the nonsocialist economic region. A higher export income alone, as we know, can ease our greater foreign economy burdens. At the same time we must make better use of our own resources through new scientific-technical solutions to substitute for, and reduce, volumes of imports.

In sum: analyzing the 10th party congress and applying its important resolutions to the 1980's call for great, creative and bold efforts by all FDGB members.

No longer is our work measured against what we have achieved but what we can achieve. That is an enormous challenge we place before us in that we throw all our abilities and talents in the scale to give richer content to our lives.

Implementing the Resolutions With Heart and Mind

All our political-ideological efforts are aimed at familiarizing our 9 million trade union members with the 10th SED Congress resolutions and enlisting each one to contributing to them with heart and mind.

We are already, as we say, in the midst of it. All that which was under discussion at the Palace of the Republic has governed the life of our trade union members from the outset. That is attested to by the great number of letters of approval sent to the party congress, the positions taken by trade union groups, and mainly also by the resolutions taken in the shop steward plenary sessions still during the party congress on carrying on our socialist competition in 1981.

The FDGB can in no better way represent its members' interests than by fully dedicating itself to the implementation of party policy.

But any step we take in implementing the tasks assigned by the party congress makes higher demands on the conscious actions and, above all, on thinking in economic and political categories. Today the class conflict has become most intense. The struggle for peace has become tougher, a life-and-death question. More than ever in the history of real socialism the economy turns out to be the main field of struggle between the two world systems.

It is up to our ideological work to instil in all trade unionists, and mainly in the millions of unaffiliated working people, a knowledge of the ways and means for the solution of our tasks and of the inevitabilities of our social development based on Marxism-Leninism, and to keep them constantly familiar with the party policy of the workers class. That conforms with our mission to act, in the Leninist sense, as schools of socialism.

Look at the achievements and new objectives of such combines as the Walter Ulbricht VEB Leuna Works or the VEB Carl Zeiss Jena, and you have every good reason to say that they primarily rely on the working people's great socialist consciousness and creativity. Here, as in innumerable other enterprises, effective ideological work is also done.

It has been proven thousands of times: the better the working people think in terms of social categories and correctly integrate their personal work performance with overall social development, the more strongly forms their motivation toward actively participating in the all-round strengthening of our socialist homeland.

And economic propaganda plays a role of increasing importance here. If, for instance, the working people in the Schwedt VEB petrochemical combine adopted the target to release 2,400 workers for other jobs by the end of this year, through the initiative, "fewer workers produce more," which is known all over our republic, then this also reflects stubborn and purposeful indoctrination work.

No one is afraid of scientific-technical progress or of rationalization among us. What we worry about instead is whether and how the speed and broad application of science and technology can be accelerated. The technological pessimism spread by bourgeois ideologists really finds no fertile soil among us.

And yet it would be a mistake to expect that the processes connected with an accelerated development of science and technology, mainly of microelectronics, proceed smoothly and without friction. To be wary of such matters and conduct personal talks about it and--wherever necessary--lend support is an extremely important aspect of the political effort by every trade union functionary.

Closely tied in with that are the questions concerning our socialist democracy. Where the working people's ideas and proposals are asked for from the outset for solving new tasks and entered into our practical work, we gain not only economic benefits but, mainly, political benefits as well. Knowing of one's own responsibility and finding that one's own person is needed causes the kind of ideological attitudes and an ideological atmosphere marked by uncompromising, tenacious struggle for the realization of ambitious goals.

There is another problem I wish to touch on in this context. In the basic trade union organizations, especially in the work collectives, one can sense that the entire development of socialist consciousness is gaining increasing importance for the further shaping of socialist thinking and conduct. Trade union members have more of a need now to know about legal matters. Ever stronger impulses for greater order and discipline and labor and law security arise, especially, from the membership meetings and the shop stewards' plenary sessions.

The unity of rights and duties and a voluntary respect for socialist legal and moral norms, and rigor and intolerance toward any law violation, are more and more becoming a standard feature of trade union interest representation in all enterprises and combines. By further improving law propaganda, we help the working people and the enterprise trade union managements in still better exercising their rights as defined in the Labor Code. At the same time we strengthen the active effect of socialist law on the social security and safety of the people in our republic.

While analyzing the 10th SED Congress, it is more important than ever for all trade union boards and managements to become effective within the trade union groups, especially the work collectives. What is done there and stirred up is the yardstick with which we take our measure.

Decisive for the Collectives: The Role of the Union Shop Steward

The development of the work collective, the trade union group, decisively depends on the role played by the union shop steward, on his being willing and able to translate his representing union interests into everyday trade union activities.

To that end, each trade union management has to provide the shop stewards with the information they need and regularly direct and train them. That also includes instructing them on the best experiences in political work.

The trade union membership meetings are principally concerned now with political talks about the tasks assigned by the party congress and with concrete inferences to be drawn for one's own work and for carrying on with socialist competition.

The party congress has paid high tribute to the 163,000 schools of socialist labor in which more than 3.2 million working people take part. They are of great value for regular political and ideological indoctrination, especially of the working people who are not party members. The rounds of talks ahead of us require special attention from the trade union boards and managements, so that we get an analysis of the 10th party congress that is relevant and of high political quality.

At our 15 bezirk trade union schools, more than 4,000 are annually trained at this time, mainly industrial trade union functionaries taking quarterly courses. These are mainly young colleagues who want to find out how they have to work in representing the interests of their colleagues. That includes basic Marxist-Leninist knowledge and a sound familiarity with the party resolutions as well as with the rights and duties as set down in the Labor Code, with everything that has to do with wage matters and many other things.

The propagandists thus bear a great responsibility for training politically steadfast and expert trade union functionaries. We must therefore, now after the party congress, carefully revise the curricula for the bezirk trade union schools as well as the central schools and the trade union college.

The trade union press plays an important role in our agitprop. TRIBUENE subscribers expect sound information every day from their paper, suggestions for their own work and for political conversations, and interesting dispensation of knowledge. There also are high demands for information on the life in the trade unions. We want our journalists to contribute, through their party-mindedness and skill, to constantly reinforcing the confidence in the SED's policy, and lend sound assistance and support to our trade union functionaries in their work. That calls for great political savvy day after day.

Election Preparation: A Great Time for Political Conversations

Our analysis of the 10th SED Congress coincides with our getting ready for the People's Chamber and the bezirk assembly elections on 14 June. This is a time of intensive political conversations, mainly between deputies and voters in the work collectives, residential areas and housing communities.

It is one of our fine traditions that elections for the people's representations are combined, principally, with good production achievements and various initiatives in the towns and communities. We do all we can for this well tested practice in socialist democracy because it also further consolidates our workers and farmers power. We make use of the extensive opportunities arising from our constitution and our labor legislation. They not only insure but actually require that the millions of working people, in an expert exercise of their rights, take part in the management and planning of social processes and thus consciously shape their own lives.

Where is there any trade union in any capitalist state that could claim anything like that about its democratic rights, its social position? In our country, democracy ends nowhere, neither outside nor inside the plant gates.

Millions are involved in deciding and implementing, under socialist conditions, anything that touches the lives of the people in the workers and farmers state. With it, socialist democracy is gaining ever greater weight in the field of material production. And not only before the elections but throughout daily practical life.

In mid-May the combines, enterprises and facilities in all domains of our economy will receive the state tasks for preparing the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan and the 1982 national economic plan. The debate on both plans is being conducted as a unified process on the basis of the "Tenth SED Congress Directive on the Five-Year Plan for the Development of the GDR Economy, 1981-1985" and is directly connected with the public debate on the People's Chamber and bezirk assembly elections.

In the democratic debate on the state quotas our trade union concern is to make persuasively apparent that we have an extensive material and intellectual potential through which new and heretofore unknown possibilities and reserves can be tapped. To make comprehensive use of this potential, in connection with the advantages of socialism, so as to insure the requisite growth of efficiency despite the now more complicated reproduction conditions, is an essential objective of our plan discussion.

To that end, we should thoroughly analyze, and draw general implications from, the valuable experiences gained in socialist competition in preparation of the 10th SED Congress, as well as the initiatives of those collectives that in recent days decided to continue our competition in accordance with party criteria.

Among the advantages of our socialist planned economy is that our working people's democratic participation in the elaboration of our national economic goals comes at precisely the time that innumerable creative thoughts, ideas and proposals of the working people reach the trade union groups and work collectives, which are an important basis for a higher rate of efficiency growth, greater labor productivity, effectiveness and qualities, and a noticeable improvement of the working and living conditions.

More than ever, therefore, must we pay attention to the working people's suggestions, recommendations and criticism, thoroughly analyze them and use them in the shaping of ambitious plans. It is up to our trade union managements and boards to organize accurate controls on all that, so that no suggestion remains unanswered or, worse, gets lost.

Results and experiences confirm that through an ever improving exercise of trade union rights a crucial contribution is made to the deepening of the working people's political and legal consciousness and to improving their security under law. The trade union influence on the unified implementation of rights and duties has had a positive effect on the further development of socialist modes of behavior, especially on raising the sense of responsibility in the work collectives.

Conflicts commissions help popularize the content of labor law and explain to the working people the rights and demands resulting from it. Above and beyond their consultations, many members of the conflicts commissions have helped through their activities in the work collectives prevent law violations and cases of litigation. The high expertise and quality of decisions by the conflicts commissions also is seen in the fact that they have definitively settled over 90 percent of all labor litigation cases. That also reflects the growth-rate of socialist democracy.

Great Responsibility for the Education of the Young Generation

The working people's ever greater involvement in public life is increasingly marked by a committed participation of women and youths. It conforms profoundly with the interests of our society to make a more extensive use of the great knowledge and skill of the women for the economic efficiency improvements we need and for further improving our working and living conditions.

As a trade union we are concerned that our higher level of education--especially among female workers and female university and technical school personnel--become still more instrumental in socialist competition, and the rationalizers and innovators movements.

Trade union managements and boards ought to see to it more persistently that capable women are more systematically groomed for executive functions in the combines and enterprises.

Equally so, the trade unions bear a great responsibility for the communist education of the young generation. Life confirms day after day how much of a value there is in close ties between older colleagues and their young fellow-combatants. In the work collectives the politically experienced and highly skilled workers are passing on the best traditions in our struggle and labor to those young people, shaping them by becoming their models.

Our young colleagues want to demonstrate their learning and performance capacities in the scientific-technical revolution, in microelectronics, robot technology or in construction. Their desire and thirst for experimenting, researching and inventing and all their great knowledge ought still more purposefully be directed at those economic projects that are of the greatest benefit to our society. For that reason we shall continue in the future in encouraging the economic FDJ initiatives as a standard feature of socialist competition.

We regard as a crucial task making the innovator aspect of working youth, particularly within the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow, a more systematic one and seeing to it that more youth projects are handed over for mastering the skills in science and technology.

Our special attention will continue to be given in the future to consolidating the more than 38,000 youth brigades in existence and to forming new collectives. These are tasks which we solve in close collaboration with the socialist youth organization.

We are certain the resolutions of the 11th FDJ Parliament will lend the young generation new impulses in the desire to strengthen the GDR and safeguard peace.

In advocating ever improving working and living conditions, we pay attention to all the factors that significantly affect the working people's well-being, happiness and joy of living.

The GDR is a country with a rich intellectual-cultural life and a high standard of education. Ambitious supplies in culture and interesting artistic achievements have helped shape socialist convictions and ideals, helped enrich the working people's thoughts and sentiments.

More and more working people have come to discover their dealing with the cultural values of the past and of the present to be a vital need. To the 10th SED Congress balance-sheet on this the trade unions have made an important contribution in that they have also always advocated, in conjunction with material interests, the improvement of the cultural living conditions. This is the way we must continue to proceed in every enterprise trade union management and every kreis, bezirk and central board. And differences in levels still existing must further be eliminated in this process.

The trade unions will continue to be particularly concerned with the intellectual-cultural and the athletic activities in the trade union groups and work collectives. Based on the culture and education plans, correlated with the tasks in socialist competition, we should convey new knowledge in a more interesting way and on a higher level and foster sociability and entertainment.

An advantage of socialist society and its way of life is that culture, education and sports are accessible to all working people and that their talents and abilities are systematically being developed.

Our intellectual-cultural life has to be organized in such a way that it still more strongly appeals both to sentiments and the intellect, gives pleasure, shapes personality traits, and conveys the sense of comfort in socialism. Were we to consider all that as matters up to a specialized department, we would fail to meet the lofty demands our society places on our intellectual-cultural life and on meaningful leisure-time activities.

Increased Recreational FDGB Travel up to 1985

Feeling comfortable with socialism today rather hinges on the quality and variety of our trade union work in this field. That is shown, among other things, by the

development of the trade unions' vacation service. We are the chief recreation agent of the workers class and all working people and shall, until 1985, in accordance with the 10th party congress directive, increase the instances of recreational journeys sponsored by the FDGB and the enterprises, to 4.7 million. A few days prior to the 10th party congress, a newly erected recreational project on the Zeulenroda dam was handed over to its purpose.

Yet along with new construction we concentrate on reconstructing more recreation homes. That includes more decor in the guest rooms, better food and more variety in cultural activities and better conditions for sports, games and hiking.

Through still closer collaboration with the recreation organizations responsible for any given territory, recreation must be made still more attractive for working people and their families. Above all we must see to it that all available trips are fully booked. A year has not only a summer season and school vacations, for the preseason and postseason FDGB vacation homes must be fully booked as well. Many vacation trips still fall by the wayside because the work of the basic organizations in this field is not puposeful and persistent enough. Yet only by making use of our vacation facilities all through the year can the working people's growing demands for FDGB vacation trips be still better satisfied.

The 10th party congress again paid high tribute to the activity of our organization. To the confidence the party has shown the FDGB and its being assigned a still greater responsibility as a school for socialism we respond by further boosting the fighting strength of our class organization. The key issue here is how we can involve through a mass-related working style by the boards and managements all members in the solution of the tasks.

Time and time again it has been found confirmed in the life of our organization that a decisive importance attaches to membership meetings. There all the questions are being aired comradely and frankly. There a trade union member perceives that he is needed and that great value is placed on his experiences, recommendations and critical remarks.

Everyday trade union work demonstrates that we had every good reason to call our membership meetings the basis, pulse and conscience of our work at the Ninth FDGB Congress. No alternative exists for our membership meetings, which are expressive of our broad intra-trade union democracy. Nothing can replace them, they being the highest organ in our basic organizations. The membership meeting is the forum for the broad involvement of all members in the implementation of the 10th SED Congress resolutions. That is what every trade union management should be mindful of, first and foremost.

Board and management activity must be made more expert so that they, in line with our Leninist legacy, insure "the connection with the masses, i.e., with the immense majority of the workers (and all working people) as the most important and fundamental condition for success in any activity by the trade unions."

The territorial boards of the industrial union or the FDGB are fully responsible for all basic trade union organizations in their areas. Nothing has been altered in this even by the formation of the combines.

It is our task to perfect our management activity so that comprehensive use can be made of the opportunities of our organizational structure in resolutely enforcing democratic centralism. All basic organization managements and all FDGB boards in bezirks and kreises are greatly responsible for that.

At the same time it must be considered that the industrial union assumes a greater role and responsibility due to the position of the combines in our national economy. That does not mean more slots, as some functionaries seem to think. It is mainly a matter of higher requirements for determining and refining the content of our trade union activity. Central industrial union boards ought to focus more still on the strategic problems resulting from the formation of combines. They should see to it that the members get more effectively involved.

Increase in our fighting strength predominantly depends on the functionaries who are politically experienced and familiar with trade union work. It is important to enforce more effectively in all boards and managements the proven Marxist-Leninist principles for cadre work and the cadre work resolutions based on them.

With all the progress made in this field, it is necessary to proceed with an eye to future requirements in the selection of colleagues for full-time and part-time nomenclature functions. Through patient efforts we must prepare and promote over the long run for trade union functions the kind of young cadres who distinguish themselves by their firm class standpoint, are actively dedicated to the implementation of the resolutions from our party, our state and our organization, come up with exemplary performance in their work and have the proper ethical qualities. This is what we should let ourselves be guided by in the cadre-policy preparations for the 1981/82 trade union elections.

The National Executive Committee is considering the proposal to summon the 10th FDGB Congress in the period from 21 to 24 April 1982 and to hold the 1981/82 elections for the managements of the trade union basic organizations, the kreis and bezirk managements of the industrial union and of the FDGB, and of the central industrial union boards from 2 November 1981 to 4 April 1982.

The FDGB has 9 million organized members at this time. That amounts to 97.2 percent of all workers, employees and members of the socialist intelligentsia in our republic. Women make up 51.5 percent and young people, 16.2 percent. Since the Ninth FDGB Congress, our class organization has admitted 700,000 new members.

In making a decision at this National Executive Committee conference on holding the 10th FDGB Congress, we may rely on the fact that since the Ninth FDGB Congress the FDGB has made a great contribution to the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in our republic.

Special importance, prior to the 10th FDGB Congress, attaches to the trade union elections. These are the first trade union elections after the 10th SED Congress. We shall use this time in further mobilizing the trade union groups and all enterprise trade union organizations for the implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions for the 1980's.

Our International Trade Union Activity

The 10th party congress resolutions contain new tasks for our international work in the world trade union movement.

In close cooperation with the trade unions in the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries we shall still more strongly coordinate our capacities to make a more effective contribution still to peace, disarmament and social progress.

The 24th WFTU office meeting ended here in Berlin last month. It called upon the Madrid follow-up conference after Helsinki to do what it could on our continent so that the achievements toward detente are not placed in doubt and political detente is supplemented by military detente. It welcomed the peace proposals of the 26th CPSU Congress which meet the interests of all trade unions and nations.

What our time needs is mass activity by the organized workers in the capitalist countries resolutely stopping the armaments madness there, which is organized mainly by the military-industrial complexes.

That is why we are allied in solidarity with the trade unions in capitalist countries, no matter what their orientation is, which are demanding through powerful demonstrations: Stop the arms race! Stop the neutron bomb! Prevent the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe! Social policy instead of armaments madness!

The FDGB shall do what it can to intensify the debate in the world trade union movement on peace and security and on social and economic aspects of disarmament. It is a decisive question for reducing still extant reservations and blocks that are impeding effective actions. In this sense we welcome any step forward that makes possible the summoning of a trade union world conference on the social and economic aspects of disarmament.

Preparations for the 10th WFTU Congress are in full swing. For the first time in trade union history, such an important congress will be held in the Western hemisphere, in socialist Cuba. It reflects what enormous changes have taken place and are taking place on our globe.

Great efforts are still needed up to that trade union world forum in February 1982 so that the WFTU, as the custodian of the interests of the working people, can still more successfully confront the challenges of the 1980's.

In November this year, the Fourth European Trade Union Conference will be held in Geneva. These already traditional meetings of trade union leaders of our continent have proven beneficial for all sides. They demonstrate that confidence and cooperation in the European trade union movement bear fruit. That conforms to the spirit of Helsinki.

Another aspect of our international work is found in our consolidating our alliance with the trade unions in young national states, especially in those that have opted for socialist development.

Equipped with the 10th party congress resolutions, we approach the coping with the tasks ahead of us with great optimism. Now we can assign targets to ourselves of which in former times we but ventured to dream.

A matter of honor it is for every trade unionist to invest all he has in the implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions, in the further strengthening of our socialist fatherland. Side by side with the communists, led by our revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, we are fighting for new victories in further carrying out all the progressive, humanistic and revolutionary traditions of our people.

What the 10th party congress has resolved should be, will be!

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES FOR SED POLITBURO, CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Apr 81 pp 4-5

[Report "From the 10th SED Congress" listing members and candidates of the SED Central Committee, members and candidates of the Central Auditing Commission, and members and candidates of the SED Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, along with brief biographical information on each official]

[Text] Members of the SED Central Committee

Alexander Abusch--member, GDR Academy of Arts; born 14 February 1902; party member since 1918; editor, writer, honorary doctorate.

Heinrich Adameck--chairman of the State Television Committee. GDR Council of Ministers; born 21 December 1921; party member since 1949; worker, commercial employee, journalist, graduate political scientist.

Hans Albrecht--first SED secretary, Suhl Bezirk management; born 22 November 1919; party member since 1945; plumber, graduate engineer-economist.

Otto Arndt--minister for transport; born 19 July 1920; party member since 1945; plumber, railroad worker, engineer.

Eberhard Aurich--second FDJ Central Council secretary; born 10 December 1946; party member since 1967; concrete technician, graduate teacher.

Hermann Axen--SED Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; born 6 March 1916; party member since 1942, member of the Communist Youth Society of Germany since 1932; worker, journalist.

Roland Bauer--SED Central Committee representative on editorial board of journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM; born 19 March 1928; party member since 1946; precision mechanic, graduate social scientist, Ph.D.

Bruno Beater--first deputy minister for state security; Col Gen; born 5 February 1914; party member since 1945; carpenter, graduate jurist.

Gerhard Beil--state secretary and first deputy minister for foreign trade; born 28 May 1926; party member since 1953; merchant, steel construction mechanic, graduate economist, political science doctorate.

Hilde Benjamin--professor at the GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; born 5 February 1902; party member since 1927; attorney, honorary doctorate of law.

Helene Berg--member, agitation commission, SED Central Committee Politburo; born 10 April 1906; party member since 1927; seamstress, professor, honorary Ph.D.

Wolfgang Beyreuther--state secretary for labor and wages; born 16 June 1928; party member since 1946; machine mechanic, graduate social scientist.

Wolfgang Biermann--general director of VEB Carl Zeiss Jena combine; born 29 November 1927; party member since 1956; machine mechanic, engineer, honorary doctor in economics.

Hans-Joachim Boehme--minister for university and technical school matters; born 25 April 1931; party member since 1952; teacher, professor.

Hans-Joachim Boehme--second secretary of Halle SED bezirk management; born 29 December 1929; party member since 1945; employee, graduate social scientist, Ph.D.

Alois Braeutigam--party veteran; born 28 April 1916; party member since 1934; bricklayer, miner.

Edith Brandt--secretary for science, public education and culture of Halle SED bezirk management; born 15 December 1923; party member since 1945; cook, teacher, licensed farmer, graduate social scientist.

Horst Brasch--vice-president and general secretary of the GDR's Peoples' Friendship League; born 23 December 1922; party member since 1944; tool maker.

Johannes Chemnitzer--first secretary of Neubrandenburg SED bezirk management; born 24 March 1929; party member since 1946; licensed farmer, graduate social scientist.

Franz Dahlem--deputy minister for university and technical school matters; born 14 January 1892; party member since 1913; commercial employee, editor.

Fritz Dallmann--chairman of the Priborn, Roebel Kreis crop production LPG; born 17 June 1923; party member since 1948; farm worker, graduate agrarian -engineer-economist.

Friedrich Dickel--minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police; Col Gen; born 9 December 1913; party member since 1931; molder, high-frequency technician, graduate military scientist.

Ernst Diehl--deputy director of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; born 8 January 1928; party member since 1946; worker, graduate historian, Ph.D.

Horst Dohlus--SED Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; born 30 May 1925; party member since 1946; barber.

Werner Eberlein--deputy department chief of SED Central Committee; born 9 November 1919; party member since 1948; electrician, journalist, graduate social scientist.

Guenter Ehrensperger--department chief of SED Central Committee; born 16 May 1931; party member since 1956; industrial merchant, graduate economist.

Manfred Ewald--president of the GDR Athletics and Sports Association; born 17 May 1926; party member since 1945; civil servant, graduate coach.

Manfred Feist--department chief of SED Central Committee; born 6 April 1930; party member since 1947; graduate political scientist.

Horst Felber--first secretary of SED kreis management in the ministry for state security; Maj Gen; born 23 October 1929; party member since 1954; worker, upper-grade teacher, doctor of law.

Werner Felfe--SED Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; born 4 January 1928; party member since 1945; industrial merchant, graduate engineer-economist.

Oskar Fischer--minister for foreign affairs; born 19 March 1923; party member since 1946; tailor, graduate social scientist.

Peter Florin--deputy minister for foreign affairs, regular GDR representative to the UN; born 2 October 1921; party member since 1945; editor.

Werner Frohn--general director of the Schwedt VEB Petrochemical combine; born 12 April 1929; party member since 1946; civil servant, graduate economist, doctor in economics.

Klaus Fuchs--regular member of the GDR Academy of Sciences; born 29 December 1911; party member since 1930; physicist, Ph.D., doctorate in natural sciences.

Otto Funke--chairman of the central management of the GDR Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters; born 23 August 1915; party member since 1933; technical employee.

Klaus Gaebler--department chief of the SED Central Committee; born 5 October 1931; party member since 1947; graduate philosopher, Ph.D.

Heinz Geggel--department chief of the SED Central Committee; born 11 November 1921; party member since 1944; diamond cutter, journalist.

Rudi Georgi--minister for machine tool and processing machinery building; born 25 December 1927; party member since 1946; graduate economist, doctor of economics.

Gisela Glende--department chief of the SED Central Committee; born 30 October 1925; party member since 1945; commercial employee, graduate social scientist.

Guenter Goerlich--chairman of the Berlin bezirk management of the GDR Writers Association; born 6 Janury 1928; party member since 1955; worker, institutional educator, author.

Otto Gotsche--author; born 3 July 1904; party member since 1918; plumber, writer.

Herbert Haeber--department chief in the SED Central Committee; born 15 November 1930; party member since 1946; worker, professor.

Kurt Hager--SED Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; member of the GDR State Council; born 24 July 1912; party member since 1930, member of the Communist Youth Society of Germany since 1929; editor, professor, honorary doctorate.

Erich Hahn--director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; born 5 March 1930; party member since 1951; worker, graduate philosopher, professor, Ph D.

Walter Halbritter--minister and director of office for prices, GDR Council of Ministers; born 17 November 1927; party member since 1946; worker, civil servant, graduate economist.

Horst Hasse--head of the Fehrbellin agro-industrial crop production association, Neuruppin Kreis; born 9 February 1930; party member since 1955; farmer, graduate farmer.

Horst Heintze--member, FDGB presidium, secretary, FDGB National Executive Committee; born 15 August 1927; party member since 1947; machinist, graduate social scientist, graduate economist.

Eva Hempel--first secretary of the Schwerin SED rural kreis management; born 22 October 1936; party member since 1956; specialist in agriculture and crop production, licensed farmer.

Wolfgang Herger--SED Central Committee department chief; born 10 August 1935; party member since 1959; graduate philosopher, Ph.D.

Werner Hering--SED Central Committee department chief; born 20 March 1930; party member since 1946; jurist, doctor of law.

Joachim Herrmann--SED Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; born 29 October 1928; party member since 1946; worker, journalist.

Hans-Joachim Hertwig--first secretary of Frankfurt/Oder SED bezirk management; born 16 July 1928; party member since 1945; teacher, graduate social scientist.

Hannes Hoernig--SED Central Committee department chief; born 1 April 1921; party member since 1945; plumber, teacher, graduate social scientist, honorary Ph.D.

Hans-Joachim Hoffmann--minister for culture; born 10 October 1929; party member since 1945; electrician, graduate social scientist.

Heinz Hoffmann--SED Central Committee Politburo member and minister for national defense; general of the army; born 28 November 1910; party member since 1930, and member of the Communist Youth Society of Germany since 1926; motor mechanic, graduate military scientist, honorary doctorate.

Gerhard Holtz-Baumert--vice-president and board member of the GDR Writers Association; born 25 December 1927; party member since 1947; journalist, teacher, writer.

Erich Honecker--general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR state council; born 25 August 1912; party member since 1929 and member of the Communist Youth Society of Germany since 1926; roofer.

Margot Honecker--minister for public education; born 17 April 1927; party member since 1947; telephone operator, honorary doctorate.

Guenther Jahn--first secretary of Potsdam SED bezirk management; born 9 January 1930; party member since 1946; graduate economist, doctor of economics.

Werner Jarowinsky--SED Central Committee secretary and Politburo candidate; born 25 April 1927; party member since 1945; industrial merchant, graduate economist, doctor of economics.

Hans Jendretzky--chairman of the FDGB fraction in the GDR People's Chamber; born 20 July 1897; party member since 1919; plumber, heating technician.

Heinz Juch--member of the central party control commission; born 3 April 1920; party member since 1947; machine mechanic, graduate social scientist.

Wolfgang Junker--minister for construction; born 23 February 1929; party member since 1951; bricklayer, construction engineer.

Karl Kayser--general director of the Leipzig municipal theater; born 14 May 1914; party member since 1946; painter, actor, professor.

Kaethe Kern--chairperson of the DFD fraction in the GDR People's Chamber; born 22 July 1900; party member since 1920; commercial employee.

Heinz Kessler--deputy minister for national defense and chief of NVA political main administration; Col Gen; born 26 January 1920; party member since 1945; machinist, graduate military scientist.

Bruno Kiesler--SED Central Committee department chief; born 22 December 1925; party member since 1946; plumber, tractor operator, graduate agro-economist.

Guenther Kleiber--SED Central Committee Politburo candidate, deputy chairman of the council of ministers and minister for general engineering, agricultural machinery and vehicle building; born 16 September 1931; party member since 1950; electrician, graduate engineer.

Horst Klemm--first secretary of SED kreis management in the GDR Academy of Sciences; born 30 June 1925; party member since 1947; postal assistant, graduate social scientist, Ph.D.

Rainer Knolle--second secretary of Gera SED bezirk management; born 3 October 1918; party member since 1948; machine mechanic, licensed farmer, agro-engineer.

Hans Koch--director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; born 17 May 1927; party member since 1945; worker, literary scientist, university teacher, professor, Ph.D.

Helmut Koziolek--director of the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED CC; born 5 July 1927; party member since 1946; graduate farmer, professor, doctorate and honorary doctorate in economics.

Erhard Krack--lord mayor of GDR capital Berlin; born 9 January 1931; party member since 1951; graduate economist.

Egon Krenz--SED Central Committee Politburo candidate and first secretary of FDJ Central Council; born 19 March 1937; party member since 1955; teacher, graduate social scientist.

Herbert Krolikowski--state secretary and first deputy minister for foreign affairs; born 15 March 1924; party member since 1952; industrial merchant, graduate political scientist, Ph.D.

Werner Krolikowski--SED Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; born 12 March 1928; party member since 1946; civil servant.

Anneliese Krueger--economist, Ernst Thaelmann crop production LPG Dobitschen, Schmoelln Kreis; born 11 July 1941; party member since 1966; graduate farmer.

Heinz Kuhrig--minister for agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs; born 4 March 1929; party member since 1946; electromechanic, graduate farmer.

Helga Laba--chairperson of the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization and secretary of the FDJ Central Council; born 22 May 1940; party member since 1959; grade school teacher.

Inge Lange--SED Central Committee secretary and Politburo candidate; born 24 July 1927; party member since 1945; seamstress, graduate social scientist.

Waldemar Liemen--secretary of VEB basic organization in the Werra potash enterprise Merkers, Bad Salzungen Kreis; born 13 April 1927; party member since 1945; postal specialist, foreman, graduate social scientist.

Lothar Lindner--chairman, central board IG Bau-Holz; born 13 January 1928; party member since 1947; bricklayer, graduate social scientist.

Siegfried Lorenz--first secretary of Karl-Marx-Stadt SED bezirk management; born 26 November 1930; party member since 1945; mechanic, graduate social scientist.

Hans Dieter Maede--general director of the DEFA feature film studio; born 29 January 1930; party member since 1946; stage director, producer.

Robert Menzel--deputy minister for transportation and Railway Political Administration chief; born 12 October 1911; party member since 1932; technician for orthopedic devices.

Ernst Hermann Meyer--president, Association of Composers and Musicologists of the GDR; born 8 December 1905; party member since 1930; musician, composer, musicologist, professor emeritus, doctorate and honorary doctorate.

Erich Mielke--SED Central Committee Politburo member and minister for state security; general of the army; born 28 December 1907; party member since 1925; efficiency expert, worker.

Guenter Mittag--SED Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, member of the GDR State Council; born 8 October 1926; party member since 1946; railroad worker, graduate economist, doctorate in economics.

Hans Modrow--first secretary of Dresden SED bezirk management; born 27 January 1928; party member since 1949; machine mechanic, graduate economist, graduate social scientist, doctorate in economics.

Erich Mueckenberger--SED Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission; born 8 June 1910; party member since 1927 and member of the Socialist Working Youth since 1924; machine mechanic.

Erich Mueller--general director, Walter Ulbricht VEB Leuna Works Combine; born 4 October 1921; party member since 1949; machine mechanic, graduate social scientist.

Fritz Mueller--department chief in the SED Central Committee; born 3 December 1920; party member since 1948; merchant.

Gerhard Mueller--first secretary, Erfurt SED bezirk management; born 4 February 1928; party member since 1946; worker, teacher, licensed farmer, graduate social scientist.

Helmut Mueller--second secretary, Berlin SED bezirk management; born 12 June 1930; party member since 1947; worker, graduate teacher of Marxism-Leninism.

Margarete Mueller--SED Central Committee Politburo candidate, head of the Friedland agro-industrial crop production association, Neubrandenburg Kreis, and member of GDR State Council; born 18 February 1931; party member since 1951; tractor operator, licensed farmer, graduate agronomist.

Konrad Naumann--SED Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary, Berlin SED bezirk management; born 25 November 1928; party member since 1945; worker, graduate teacher of Marxism-Leninism.

Alfred Neumann--SED Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman, GDR Council of Ministers; born 15 December 1909; party member since 1929; carpenter.

Gerhart Neuner--president, Academy of Pedagogic Sciences of the GDR; born 18 June 1929; party member since 1949; worker, teacher, professor, doctorate in pedagogic sciences.

Harry Ott--Ambassador; born 15 October 1933; party member since 1952; graduate political scientist.

Hans Pischner--executive director, German State Opera, Berlin, and president, Cultural League of the GDR; born 20 February 1914; party member since 1946; music educator, musicologist, professor, Ph.D.

Alois Pisnik--member of the GDR State Council; born 8 September 1911; party member since 1928; electromechanic and machine mechanic, engineer.

Hermann Poeschel--department chief in the SED Central Committee; born 28 September 1919; party member since 1945; machine mechanic, engineer.

Erich Postler--second secretary, Schwerin SED bezirk management; born 25 November 1940; party member since 1961; agricultural specialist, agro-engineer.

Bernhard Quandt--member of the GDR State Council; born 14 April 1903; party member since 1920; iron turner.

Ursula Ragwitz--department chief in the SED Central Committee; born 15 February 1928; party member since 1946; teacher, graduate music educator, graduate musicologist.

Wolfgang Rauchfuss--deputy chairman, GDR Council of Ministers and minister for material management; born 27 November 1931; party member since 1951; mechanic, graduate foreign trade economist.

Otto Reinhold--director, Academy for Social Sciences, SED CC; born 8 December 1925; party member since 1945; typewriter mechanic, graduate economist, professor, doctorate in economics.

Herbert Richter--general director, VEB Schwarze Pumpe Gas Combine; born 20 April 1933; party member since 1955; chemical laboratory technician, graduate chemist, natural sciences doctorate.

Kurt Roediger--deputy chairman, Suhl bezirk council and chairman, Suhl bezirk planning commission; born 26 November 1920; party member since 1945; commercial employee, worker, graduate economist, doctorate in economics.

Alfred Rohde--first secretary, Wismut SED Area Directorate; born 21 April 1921; party member since 1945; machine mechanic, graduate social scientist.

Robert Rompe--full member of the GDR Academy of Sciences; born 10 September 1905; party member since 1932; laboratory technician, physicist, professor, Ph.D., honorary doctorate in engineering, honorary doctorate.

Paul Roscher--member of the Karl-Marx-Stadt bezirk committee of the antifascist resistance fighters; born 17 September 1913; party member since 1932; machine builder.

Erich Ruebensam--president, Academy of Agricultural Sciences of the GDR; born 18 May 1922; party member since 1951; farmer, professor, doctorate in agricultural sciences.

Helmut Sakowski--vice president, Cultural League of the GDR, and member of the presidium of the GDR Writers Association; born 1 June 1924; party member since 1947; forester, author.

Guenter Schabowski--SED Central Committee Politburo candidate and editor in chief of SED Central Committee organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, born 4 January 1929; party member since 1952; graduate journalist.

Herbert Scheibe--department chief in the SED Central Committee; Col Gen; born 28 November 1914; party member since 1945; typesetter, graduate military scientist.

Werner Scheler--president, GDR Academy of Sciences; born 12 September 1923; party member since 1945; physician, university teacher, professor, M.D., honorary doctorate.

Gerhard Schuerer-- SED Central Committee Politburo candidate, deputy chairman, GDR Council of ministers and chairman, State Planning Commission; born 14 April 1921; party member since 1948; machine mechanic, graduate social scientist.

Horst Schumann--first secretary, Leipzig SED bezirk management; born 6 February 1924; party member since 1945; piano builder, graduate social scientist.

Bernhard Seeger--board member of GDR Writers Association; born 6 October 1927; party member since 1946; teacher, author.

Guenter Sieber--department chief in the SED Central Committee; born 11 March 1930; party member since 1948; forest worker.

Horst Sindermann--SED Central Committee Politburo member, president, GDR People's Chamber and deputy chairman, GDR State Council; born 5 September 1915; party member since 1945, member of Communist Youth Society of Germany since 1929; journalist.

Horst Soelle--minister for foreign trade; born 3 June 1924; party member since 1945; worker, industrial merchant, graduate economist.

Lothar Stammnitz--second secretary, Dresden SED bezirk management; born 1 November 1927; party member since 1946; precision optician, graduate social scientist.

Horst Stechbarth--deputy minister for national defense and chief of the army; Col Gen; born 13 April 1925; party member since 1951; worker, graduate military scientist.

Otfried Steger--minister for electrical engineering and electronics; born 25 September 1926; party member since 1952; machine mechanic, labor economist, engineer.

Albert Stief--minister and chairman of the committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate; born 19 March 1920; party member since 1945; machine builder, doctorate in economics.

Willi Stoph--SED Central Committee Politburo member, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers, deputy chairman, GDR State Council; born 9 July 1914; party member since 1931 and member of the Communist Youth Society of Germany since 1928; bricklayer, construction technician.

Paul Strauss--superintendent of construction, Rostock VEB housing construction combine; member, GDR State Council; born 27 April 1923; party member since 1954; carpenter, master worker of VEB industry.

Josef Streit--general prosecuting attorney of the GDR; born 9 June 1911; party member since 1930; printer, graduate jurist, doctor of law, honorary law doctorate.

Fritz Streletz--deputy minister for national defense, chief of the Main Staff of the NVA; Col Gen; born 28 September 1926; party member since 1948; graduate military scientist.

Irene Tamme--master worker, VEB Spindel- und Spinnfluegelfabrik Neudorf; born 19 January 1927; party member since 1945; fitter.

Gerhard Tautenhahn--department chief in the SED Central Committee; born 2 December 1929; party member since 1945; draftsman, engineer.

Ilse Thiele--chairperson, DFD (Democratic Women's League), member, GDR State Council; born 4 November 1920; party member since 1945; stenotypist.

Kurt Tiedke--first secretary, Magdeburg SED bezirk management; born 30 May 1924; party member since 1948; surveyor, graduate social scientist.

Ernst Timm--first secretary, Rostock SED bezirk management; born 16 October 1926; party member since 1950; metal airplane designer, graduate social scientist.

Harry Tisch--member, SED Central Committee Politburo, chairman, FDGB National Executive Committee, member, GDR State Council; born 28 March 1927; party member since 1945; construction mechanic, graduate social scientist.

Johanna Toepfer--deputy chairperson, FDGB National Executive Committee; born 3 April 1929; party member since 1952; worker, graduate economist, professor, doctor of economics.

Gerhard Troelitzsch--department chief in the SED Central Committee; born 2 March 1926; party member since 1946; bricklayer, graduate engineer, graduate social scientist.

Hans-Juergen Truemper-- brigade chief, Wilhelm Pieck VEB Mansfeld Combine, Bernard Koenen shaft installation; born 29 July 1945; party member since 1965; cutter.

Paul Verner--Politburo member and secretary, SED Central Committee, member, GDR State Council; born 26 April 1911; party member since 1929 and member of Communist Youth Society of Germany since 1925; metal worker, editor.

Waldemar Verner--general secretary, GDR Committee for European Security and Cooperation; admiral ret.; born 27 August 1914; party member since 1930; decorator, graduate military scientist.

Werner Walde--SED Central Committee Politburo candidate, first secretary, Cottbus SED bezirk management; born 12 February 1926; party member since 1946; civil servant, graduate economist, graduate social scientist.

Edith Weingart--first secretary, Arnstadt SED kreis management, Erfurt Bezirk; born 15 March 1922; party member since 1948; commercial employee.

Gerhard Weiss--deputy chairman, GDR Council of Ministers, permanent GDR representative to CEMA; born 30 July 1919; party member since 1948; commercial employee; graduate economist, doctor in economics.

Herbert Weiz--deputy chairman, GDR Council of Ministers, minister for science and technology; born 27 June 1924; party member since 1946; commercial employee, graduate economist, doctor in economics.

Egon Winkelmann--extraordinary and plenipotentiary GDR ambassador to the USSR; born 1 January 1928; party member since 1947; worker, graduate economist, graduate historian, doctor in economics.

Rudolf Winter--general director, Fritz Heckert VEB machine-tool combine, Karl-Marx-Stadt; born 26 March 1927; party member since 1947; mechanic, graduate engineer, doctor in economics.

Heinz Wittig--deputy chairman, council for agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs, Gera Bezirk; born 2 March 1921; party member since 1945; licensed farmer, agro-engineer.

Hanna Wolf--director, Karl Marx party college, SED CC; born 4 February 1908; party member since 1930; historian, professor, honorary Ph.D.

Konrad Wolf--president, GDR Academy of Arts; born 20 October 1925; party member since 1952; worker, graduate stage-manager.

Guenther Wyschofsky--minister for chemical industry; born 8 May 1929; party member since 1945; laboratory technician, chemical specialist, graduate chemist.

Christa Zellmer--secretary for agitprop, Frankfurt/Oder SED bezirk management; born 5 November 1930; party member since 1947; retail merchant, graduate social scientist.

Herbert Ziegenhahn--first secretary, Gera SED bezirk management; born 27 October 1921; party member since 1951; farmer, bricklayer, graduate social scientist.

Heinz Ziegner--first secretary, Schwerin SED bezirk management; born 13 July 1928; party memebr since 1945; worker, civil servant, agro-engineer.

Ursula Zschau--secretary, enterprise party organization of VEB Vereinigte Baumwollspinnereien und Zwirnereien Floeha; born 4 October 1922; party member since 1946; managing director, industrial economist.

Candidate Members of the SED Central Committee

Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten--deputy minister for national defense and chief of the border troops of the GDR; Lt Gen; born 1 March 1931; party member since 1948; carpenter, graduate military scientist.

Achim Becker--chairman, State Broadcasting Committee, GDR Council of Ministers; born 21 November 1931; party member since 1952; merchant, journalist, graduate social scientist.

Horst Bruenner--deputy chief, Political Main Administration of the NVA; Lt Gen; born 21 February 1929; party member since 1948; worker, industrial merchant, graduate military scientist.

Wilhelm Ehm--deputy minister for national defense and chief of the People's Navy; Admiral; born 30 August 1918; party member since 1948; electrician, graduate military scientist, Ph.D.

Siegfried Funke--chief of the Querfurt agro-industrial association for crop production; born 28 June 1938; party member since 1958; farmer, graduate farmer.

Wolfgang Gebauer--chairman, "Ninth SED Congress" crop production LPG, Harsleben, Halberstadt Kreis; born 30 December 1941; party member since 1964; agro-technician, licensed farmer.

Karl-Friedrich Gebhardt--secretary for agriculture, Rostock SED bezirk management; born 29 October 1932; party member since 1956; rural worker, licensed farmer, graduate farmer, doctor of agronomy.

Norbert Geipel--secretary for agriculture, Neubrandenburg SED bezirk management; born 19 November 1928; party member since 1953; farm assistant, graduate farmer.

Theo Glocke--rector, Pedagogical College Dr. Theodor Neubauer, Erfurt-Muehlhausen; born 13 February 1930; party member since 1951; mathematics teacher, college teacher, professor, Ph.D. and natural science doctorate.

Wolfgang Gress--state secretary, State Planning Commission; born 9 May 1929; party member since 1947; graduate economist.

Heinz Hanns--member, presidium of the FDGB National Executive Committee and chairman, Rostock FDGB bezirk executive committee; born 10 October 1932; party member since 1955; carpenter, graduate social scientist.

Eberhard Heinrich--chairman, GDR Journalists Association; born 12 March 1926; party member since 1946; worker, industrial merchant, journalist.

Manfred Herold--prorector, Karl Marx Party College, CC SED; born 29 November 1930; party member since 1950; carpenter, graduate economist, professor, doctor in economics.

Frank-Joachim Herrmann--state secretary, chancellery chief of the chairman of the GDR State Council; born 15 November 1931; party member since 1949; journalist.

Bernd Junghans--department chief, VEB Center for Research and Technology, Microelectronics, Dresden; born 10 March 1941; party member since 1959; mechanic, graduate engineer, doctor in engineering.

Peter Kamps--chief designer, VEB Bergmann-Borsig Berlin, both 2 February 1933; party member since 1954; draftsman, graduate engineer.

Werner Kirchhoff--vice president and chairman of secretariat, National Council of the National Front of the GDR; born 11 November 1926; party member since 1946; worker, teacher, graduate historian.

Heinz Klopfer--state secretary of the State Planning Commission; born 15 November 1919; party member since 1948; industrial merchant, graduate economist.

Gerd Koenig--first secretary, SED kreis management of the ministry for foreign affairs; born 24 June 1930; party member since 1952; chemical laboratory technician, graduate political scientist.

Hartmut Koenig--secretary, FDJ Central Council; born 14 October 1947; party member since 1967; refrigeration designer, graduate journalist, political science doctorate.

Otto Koenig--general director, Piesteritz VEB Agrochemical Combine; born 5 March 1929; party member since 1961; graduate chemist, natural science doctorate.

Michael Kohl--deputy minister for foreign affairs; born 28 September 1929; party member since 1948; worker, graduate jurist, doctor of law.

Gerd Lassner--professor for analysis at Karl-Marx University, Leipzig; born 19 August 1940; party member since 1962; machine builder, graduate mathematician, professor, natural science doctorate.

Bruno Lietz--deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission; born 22 November 1925; party member since 1952; automobile mechanic, tractor operator, graduate agroeconomist.

Werner Lorenz--state secretary in the ministry for public education; born 4 March 1925; party member since 1947; commercial employee, teacher.

Margit Ludwig--secretary of the basic SED organization in the Erfurt VEB furniture works; born 20 December 1944; party member since 1965; saleslady, graduate economist.

Moritz Mebel--director of the urological clinic of the Berlin-Friedrichshain Municipal Hospital, teacher of urology at Humboldt University, Berlin; born 23 February 1923; party member since 1943; physician, professor, M.D., senior public health officer.

Ludwig Mecklinger--minister for health; born 14 November 1919; party member since 1945; graduate jurist, professor, M.D., honorary Ph.D.

Hans-Peter Minetti--director, State Actors Academy, Berlin; born 21 April 1926; party member since 1946; actor, graduate philosopher, professor.

Rudi Mittig--deputy minister for state security; Lt Gen; born 26 January 1925; party member since 1952; bricklayer, engineer, graduate jurist.

Ewald Moldt--extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the GDR and chief of the permanent GDR mission in the FRG; born 22 April 1927; party member since 1945; railroad worker, graduate political scientist.

Dieter Mueller--first secretary, SED kreis management, construction, Berlin; born 6 January 1941; party member since 1959; cutter.

Ingrid Neitzke--director, Woeten crop production VEG, Parchim Kreis; born 19 February 1940; party member since 1960; agricultural specialist, graduate agro-engineer economist, doctor in agronomy.

Horst Neubauer--extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the GDR to Poland; born 6 July 1936; party member since 1958; salesman, graduate political scientist.

Harry Patzig--chief engineer in the Welzow VEB soft coal works; born 23 March 1938; party member since 1960; cutter, graduate engineer.

Hans Pisko--brigade chief, Rudolf Harlass VEB foundry, Karl-Marx-Stadt; born 2 February 1938; party member since 1959; dipper, master worker of state-owned industry.

Guenter Poetschke--general director, Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst (ADN); born 28 July 1929; party member since 1954; journalist, graduate social scientist.

Hans-Joachim Preuss--shift foreman in the cold-rolling mill of VEB EKO at Herbert Matern strip steel combine Eisenhuettenstadt; born 10 March 1935; party member since 1959; blast-furnace operator, rolling-mill engineer, rolling-mill foreman.

Reinhard Probst--rector, Otto von Guericke Technical College Magdeburg; born 30 May 1934; party member since 1954; engineer, graduate metallurgist, professor, technical science doctorate.

Erhard Radtke--foreman at Karl Marx machine construction Babelsberg; born 2 May 1929; party member since 1960; machinist, master worker.

Guenter Reinhold--technologist, VEB Electronics Gera and VEB Electronic Components Combine Teltow; born 10 October 1938; party member since 1962; potter, ceramics laboratory technician, engineer.

Wolfgang Reinhold--deputy minister for national defense and chief, Air Force and Air Defense Command; Col Gen; born 16 April 1923; party member since 1950; salesman, graduate military scientist.

Werner Reuther--deputy minister of interior and chief of Political Administration of the ministry of interior; Lt Gen; born 16 February 1925; party member since 1945; draftsman, worker, graduate jurist.

Rudolf Riss--first deputy minister of interior, Lt Gen; born 2 July 1923; party member since 1946; worker, commercial employee, graduate military scientist.

Ernst Schladitz--chairman, combine trade union management and enterprise trade union chairman of parent enterprise of Ernst Thaelmann VEB heavy machine construction Magdeburg; born 27 January 1935; party member since 1958; machinist, master worker of state-owned industry, engineer, graduate social scientist.

Dieter Schulze--chief of agro-industrial association of Upper Lusatian crop production, Niesky; born 3 December 1934; party member since 1954; agricultural specialist, graduate farmer, doctor of agronomy.

Willi Skibinski--secretary for agriculture, Magdeburg SED bezirk management; born 12 August 1929; party member since 1955; agricultural specialist, graduate agronomist.

Frieda Sternberg--chairman, Ernst Thaelmann LPG Bennewitz, Wurzen Kreis; born 3 March 1920; party member since 1946; rural worker, master worker of agriculture, licensed farmer.

Horst Tensierowski--master worker in VEB tube combine Riesa; born 14 April 1932; party member since 1958; farm assistant, shape rolling mill engineer; master worker.

Kurt Thieme--general secretary, German-Soviet Friendship Society; born 6 August 1922; party member since 1950; bricklayer.

Guenter Tichter--party organizer of SED Central Committee in Fuerstenwalde VEB tire combine; born 1 January 1935; party member since 1955; tailor, engineer, graduate social scientist.

Udo-Dieter Wange--minister for district managed industry and foodstuffs industry; born 31 October 1928; party member since 1945; graduate economist, doctor of law.

Edith Weber--chairperson, central executive board of industrial union for chemistry, glass and ceramics; born 1 November 1941; party member since 1967; chemical laboratory technician, engineer, graduate social scientist.

Marianne Weinhauer--department chief in Cottbus VEB textile combine; born 25 February 1938; party member since 1959; engineer.

Lothar Witt--first secretary, Berlin-Koepenick SED kreis management; born 26 August 1935; party member since 1955; teacher, graduate social scientist.

Gert Wohllebe--general director, Leipzig-Grimma VEB chemical installations combine; born 24 March 1931; party member since 1958; copper-smith, master worker of state-owned industry, engineer.

Arnold Zimmermann--chairman of Suhl bezirk council; born 2 October 1922; party member since 1945; civil servant, graduate jurist, graduate engineer-economist.

Members of the Central Auditing Commission

Fritz Brock--department chief in the SED Central Committee.

Wolfgang Conrad--deputy chief of cadre administration for party and political cadre in the Political Main Administration of the NVA; Maj Gen.

Werner Eidner--party veteran.

Erika Florich-Lieberwirth--deputy minister for light industry.

Joachim Funke--general director, state-owned data processing combine.

Elli Gloeckner--deputy department chief in SED Central Committee.

Hans Golle-party veteran.

Herbert Graf--head of the political science department for young national states, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence.

Reginald Grimmer--secretary for agitprop, Berlin SED bezirk management.

Hildegard Gurgeit--party veteran.

Kurt Herholz--party veteran.

Guenter Heyden--director, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED CC.

Walter Kirnich--second secretary, Magdeburg SED bezirk management.

Werner Lauterbach--party veteran, Col ret.

Werner Lindner--state secretary in the ministry for agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs.

Karl-Heinz Lorber--deputy chairman, Central Auditing Commission of the SED.

Bruno Mahlow--deputy department chief in the SED Central Committee.

Ernst Mehlis--member of the editorial board of SED Central Committee's journal EINHEIT.

Heinz Meyer--head of the central state inspectorate for investments, State Planning Commission.

Heinz Mirtschin--sector chief in SED Central Committee.

Sonja Mueller--chairperson, Central Commission for Youth Consecration in the GDR.

Johannes Pietsch--political associate in Central Auditing Commission of the SED.

Emil Rathmann--party veteran.

Gerhard Rohde--department chief in the ministry for finance.

Helmut Sandig--deputy minister for finance.

Hans Sattler--secretary, FDJ Central Council.

Werner Scholz--department chief and editor in chief of SED Central Committee's NEUER WEG.

Kurt Seibt--chairman, Central Auditing Commission of the SED.

Kurt Siegmund--party veteran.

Hannelore Sonntag--political associate in the Central Auditing Commission of the SED.

Erich Tamm-party veteran.

Irma Verner--member of editorial board of SED Central Committee's journal NEUER WEG.

Guenter Vogel--deputy chairman, Workers and Farmers Inspectorate Committee.

Kaethe Wenzel--deputy department chief in the SED Central Committee.

Johanna Witz--political associate in the Central Auditing Commission of the SED.

Candidates of the Central Auditing Commission of the SED.

Maria Augustin--associate of the Central Auditing Commission of the SED.

Edith Becker--scientific associate of the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED CC.

Guenter Hennig--chief of Dietz publishing house, Berlin.

Herta Lembke--party veteran.

Hilmar Weiss--department chief in SED Central Committee.

Rudolf Wettengel--scientific associate of the Central Auditing Commission of the SED.

Politburo Members and Candidates, Central Committee Secretaries, and Chairman of the Central Auditing Commission

Hermann Axen--SED Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; born 6 March 1916; party member since 1942; member of the Communist Youth Society of Germany since 1932; worker, journalist; took part in the antifascist resistance struggle, imprisoned for 8 years; secretary, FDJ Central Council and held executive party positions; 1950 member of Central Committee; 1963 Politburo candidate, since 1966 secretary of the SED Central Committee; 1970 member of the SED Politburo and Central Committee; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Horst Dohlus--SED Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; born 30 May 1925; party member since 1946; barber; worker, SDAG Wismut and held executive party positions; 1950 candidate, 1963 member of SED Central Committee; 1973, secretary, SED Central Committee; 1976 candidate, 1980 member of SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Werner Felfe--SED Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; born 4 January 1928; party member since 1945; industrial merchant, graduate engineer-economist; leading functions in the FDJ, the state appartus and the party; 1954 candidate, 1963 member of the SED Central Committee; 1973 candidate, 1976 member of the SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Kurt Hager--SED Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; member of the GDR State Council; born 24 July 1912; party member since 1930, member of the Communist Youth Societ of Germany since 1929; editor, professor, honorary doctorate; took part in the antifascist resistance struggle, was imprisoned, fought in the International Brigades in Spain; executive responsibilities as editor and in leading party functions; 1950 SED Central Committee candidate, 1954 member, 1955 secretary of the SED Central Committee, 1958 candidate, 1963 member of SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Joachim Herrmann--SED Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; born 29 October 1928; party member since 1946; journalist; executive functions in the FDJ, the state apparatus and the party; 1967 candidate, 1971 member of the SED Central Committee; 1973 candidate of Politburo and since 1976 SED Central Committee secretary; 1978 member of SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Heinz Hoffmann--SED Central Committee Politburo member and minister for national defense; general of the army; born 28 November 1910; party member since 1930, and member of the Communist Youth Society of Germany since 1926; motor mechanic, graduate military scientist, honorary doctorate; took part in the antifascist resistance struggle, fought in the International Brigades in Spain; executive functions in the Central Committee apparatus and in the Garrisoned People's Police and the NVA; 1950 candidate and 1954 member of the SED Central Committee; 1973 member of the SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Erich Honecker--general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council; Politburo member; born 25 August 1912; party member since 1929 and member of the Communist Youth Society of Germany since 1926; roofer; member of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Society of Germany; took part in the antifascist resistance struggle, imprisoned for 10 years; 1945 youth secretary in the KPD Central Committee, member of the KPD Central Committee and of the SED party executive; cofounder of the FDJ and until 1955 chairman of the FDJ Central Council; 1950 candidate and since 1958 member of the SED Politburo and Central Committee secretary; 1971-1976 first secretary of the SED Central Committee; since 1976 general secretary of the SED Central Committee; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Werner Krolikowski--SED Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; born 12 March 1928; party member since 1946; civil servant; worker, leading functions in state apparatus and party; 1963 member of SED Central Committee; 1971 member of Politburo and from 1973-1976 secretary of the SED Central Committee; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Erich Mielke--SED Central Committee Politburo member and minister for state security; general of the army; born 28 December 1907; party member since 1925; efficiency expert, worker; took part in the antifascist resistance struggle, fought in the International Brigades in Spain; leading functions in party and state apparatus and armed organs; 1950 member of SED Central Committee; 1971 candidate and 1976 member of SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Guenter Mittag--SED Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, member of the GDR State Council; born 8 October 1926; party member since 1946; railroad worker, graduate economist, doctorate in economics; leading functions in the railroad industrial union, the state apparatus and the party; 1958 candidate and 1962 member and secretary of SED Central Committee; 1963 candidate and 1966 member of the SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Erich Mueckenberger--SED Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission; born 8 June 1910; party member since 1926 and member of the Socialist Working Youth since 1924; machine mechanic; took part in the antifascist resistance struggle, imprisoned for 2 years; leading functions in the SPD in Saxony, leading party functions; 1950 member of the Central Committee and Politburo candidate; 1953-1960 secretary of the SED Central Committee; 1958 member of the SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Konrad Naumann--SED Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary, Berlin SED bezirk management; born 25 November 1928; party member since 1945; graduate teacher of Marxism-Leninism; worker, leading functions in the FDJ and in the party; 1963 candidate and since 1966 member of the SED Central Committee; 1973 candidate and 1976 member of the SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Alfred Neumann--SED Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman, GDR Council of Ministers; born 15 December 1909, party member since 1929; carpenter; took part in the antifascist resistance struggle, fought in the International Brigades in Spain, imprisoned for 6 years; leading functions in the state apparatus and in the party; 1954 member of the Central Committee and candidate of SED Central Committee Politburo, 1957-1961 secretary of the SED Central Committee, 1958 member of SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Horst Sindermann--SED Central Committee Politburo member, president, GDR People's Chamber and deputy chairman, GDR State Council; born 5 September 1915; party member since 1945, member of Communist Youth Society of Germany since 1929; journalist; took part in the antifascist resistance struggle, imprisoned for 11 years; leading functions in the party and in the state apparatus; 1958 candidate and 1963 member of the Central Committee and candidate for the SED Central Committee Politburo; 1967 member of the SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Willi Stoph--SED Central Committee Politburo member, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers, deputy chairman, GDR State Council; born 9 July 1914; party member since 1931 and member of the Communist Youth Society of Germany since 1928; bricklayer construction technician; took part in the antifascist resistance struggle; leading functions in the party and the state apparatus; 1950 member of SED Central Committee; 1953 member of SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Harry Tisch--member, SED Central Committee Politburo, chairman, FDGB National Executive Committee, member, GDR State Council; born 28 March 1927; party member since 1945; construction mechanic, graduate social scientist; leading functions in the FDGB, the state apparatus and the party; 1963 member of SED Central Committee; 1971 candidate and 1975 member of SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Paul Verner--Politburo member and secretary, SED Central Committee, member, GDR State Council; born 26 April 1911; party member since 1929 and member of Communist Youth Society of Germany since 1925; metal worker, editor; took part in the anti-fascist resistance struggle, imprisoned for 4 years, fought in International Brigades in Spain, leading functions in the party's youth activities; 1950 member of the Central Committee and of the SED Central Committee secretariat, 1958 Politburo candidate and SED Central Committee secretary; 1963 member of the SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Werner Jarowinsky--SED Central Committee secretary and Politburo candidate; born 25 April 1927; party member since 1945; industrial merchant, graduate economist, doctor of economics; since 1954 leading functions in the state apparatus and in the party; 1963 member and secretary of the Central Committee and candidate for the SED Central Committee Politburo;GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Guenther Kleiber--SED Central Committee Politburo candidate, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister for general engineering, agricultural machinery and vehicle building; born 16 September 1931; party member since 1950; electrician, graduate engineer; leading functions in the party and in the state apparatus; 1967, Central Committee member and candidate for the SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Egon Krenz--SED Central Committee Politburo candidate and first secretary of FDJ Central Council; born 19 March 1937; party member since 1955; teacher, graduate social scientist; leading functions in the FDJ; 1971 candidate and 1973 member of SED Central Committee; 1976 candidate for SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Inge Lange--SED Central Committee secretary and Politburo candidate; born 24 July 1927; party member since 1945; seamstress, graduate social scientist; leading FDJ and party functions; 1963 candidate and since 1964 member of the SED Central Committee; 1973 candidate for SED Central Committee Politburo and secretary; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Margarete Mueller--SED Central Committee Politburo candidate, head of the Friedland agro-industrial crop production association, Neubrandenburg Kreis, and member of GDR State Council; born 18 February 1931; party member since 1951; tractor operator, licensed farmer, graduate agronomist; leading functions in socialist agriculture; 1963 member of Central Committee and SED Central Committee Politburo candidate; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Guenter Schabowski--SED Central Committee Politburo candidate and editor in chief of SED Central Committee organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND; born 4 January 1929; party member since 1952; graduate journalist; leading editorial positions in trade union and party press organs; 1981 Central Committee member and candidate for the SED Central Committee Politburo.

Gerhard Schuerer--SED Central Committee Politburo candidate, deputy chairman, GDR Council of Ministers and chairman, State Planning Commission; born 14 April 1921; party member since 1948; machine mechanic, graduate social scientist; leading functions in the party and the state apparatus; 1963 member of the SED Central Committee, 1973 candidate for the SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Werner Walde--SED Central Committee Politburo candidate, first secretary, Cottbus SED bezirk management; born 12 February 1926; party member since 1946; civil servant, graduate economist, graduate social scientist; leading party functions; 1971 member of SED Central Committee, 1976 candidate for SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR People's Chamber deputy.

Kurt Seibt--chairman, Central Auditing Commission of the SED; born 13 February 1908; party member since 1932; metal presser; leading party functions.

5885
CSO: 2300/213

WEST GERMAN COMMENTARY: NO CHANCE FOR 'SOLIDARITY' IN GDR

Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 28-29 Mar 81 p 4

[Commentary by Hans Heigert: "Poland's German Neighbors"]

[Text] Hope and fear mark the feelings of the people in Germany/West when they turn their eyes towards Poland. The overwhelming majority of West German citizens surely hope that the development there will find a stable base and that it will be possible, step by step, to take the road to a little more freedom, self-determination, security under the law, and, ultimately, to moderate prosperity. They are afraid that a catastrophe might occur between Cracow and Danzig, a return to cold dictatorship, bloodshed, and civil war. It would not only be the defeated Poles who would then have to bear the consequences. History teaches that civil war can rapidly lead to veritable wars between states and world powers. For the remaining 20 years of this millenium, there are still pertinent "war images," nowadays referred to as "scenarios."

Against the 'Polacks'

On the other hand, whoever inquires "about Poland" in the GDR learns much that is depressing. First of all, one is surprised by apparently wide-spread aversion to and even hatred for the Poles. Old stereotypes emerge: "terribly messy," "lazy bums," "no discipline," "can't count," "waste our money, buy up everything we have..." Bitter indigation arose throughout the land when Honecker recently granted the Poles a credit of 250 million dollars. "That money we could use better ourselves."

In light of such aggressive reactions, the observer finds his impression confirmed that among the GDR population the resentment-laden mentality of the petty bourgeoisie often sets the tone, full of anti-sentiments, left over from the stale political air of the thirties--in this case against the "Polacks." The intelligentsia long ago learned to keep quiet. It takes hardly any part in the population's polemics. The SED leadership, on the other hand, does not encourage these anti-Polish sentiments, but does not try to correct them either. In its fear that one of these days the spark might jump across the Oder towards the West, it presumably approves that the "lap this crawled out of," namely the strong feelings against the neighbors to the East, is still quite alive in the GDR.

This can be explained. No real clarification occurred there after 1945, no reflection on contemporary history, no honest political self-awareness. This keeps the old models alive longer there than elsewhere, where fresh and free winds blow.

Impossible in the GDR

However, the strangely gloomy feelings toward "the Poles" are also connected with quite different experiences. Anyone who asks whether in the GDR any situation is conceivable which could start a process similar to the one in Poland hears the same opinion everywhere: No, this is unimaginable. Why? First answer, wherever one listens: Supervision by the party apparatus and the state security forces is so complete that no worker, no matter how highly regarded, could in any enterprise call for a protest against even a single "special shift." The man would be immediately removed from his place of work, and everyone knows it. The Poles, so people say in this connection, are even slovenly in their state security. There, the party and the government did not notice what was brewing at the grassroots.

In the GDR, on the other hand, there is hardly anyone in the middle ranks (not to speak of the ones higher up) who has not had something to do with party controllers and security organs. Everyone learns the everlasting obligation of people toward "socialism," "the state,"--against the "class enemy" (who, after all, as everyone in the GDR acknowledges with a grin, never sleeps.)

Second answer: In the GDR, there is no solidarity among people. The "intelligentsia" (organizers, functionaries, engineers, scientists) is worried about its privileges which are granted--or taken away--until it is time to go on pension. The masses in the bureaucracy have adjusted and do not want to expose themselves because of the danger of disadvantages. The workers, on the other hand, react to all that trouble with "service according to rules." In the past few months, the general apathy, indolence, bad mood, and refusal to get involved in anything seem to have increased again. But all try to improve their everyday life with hundreds of "connections" or small bribes, referred to as "stimuli." All this, however, takes place not in an accepted community action (as for instance in Poland) but in a society which disintegrates people, and in the final analysis does not tie them together but isolates them.

Third consideration: Even in 1981, hardly anyone in the GDR feels a national identity. "Germany," could mean all kinds of things, but surely not the GDR. Presumably, most people there have a kind of "state-feeling," a sense of belonging, of the unavoidability of party and state power. But state in the sense of nation, in other words harmony between social order and emotional ties--that is out of the question in the GDR. Towards what end, then, should people and leaders of workers (if they did exist) fight?

Danger in the Case of a Catastrophe

Fourth, finally: In Poland there is an undivided and always also national Catholic Church. For centuries, it existed and gained strength against Protestant Prussians and Orthodox Russians. It saved the Polish nation through three state partitions. Nothing like it exists in the GDR. The churches there have completely different backgrounds and feelings of self-evaluation, and they have many centers of gravity. None of these churches have historic roots or national traditions which have any bearing on today's GDR.

All this together must lead to one conclusion: In the GDR, developments like those in Poland are inconceivable. The control from above is too perfect and solidarities from below are too trifling.

Nevertheless, or perhaps because of it, there is apprehension at the center of the SED-regime. True, at the moment they feel that they are master of the situation in East Berlin. There is no Walesa in the GDR, and there is not going to be one, not in the foreseeable future. What is happening in the other Germany's command apparatus is rather the fear of a dramatic drop in temperature, of a return of the "cold war," as a consequence of a Polish catastrophe. If, then, for the GDR also trade with the West together with several nice conditions were to be put into deep freeze, if new, heavy burdens were imposed on its trade with the East--this would be likely to increase greatly the economic difficulties, which are considerable anyhow. This, in the end, could lead to an explosive situation in the GDR too. Every functionary knows that this could then no longer be attributed to the "class enemy."

A disaster in Poland would also have serious consequences for intra-German relations and for the situation of Berlin. This could lead to new strangulations which would then also tax to the utmost the nerves of West German citizens. The treaties with the East, as was known already when they were signed, blossom in times of good weather, but hardly in cases of catastrophes.

9011
CSO: 2300/194

WEST GERMAN REVIEW OF GDR CHURCH PUBLICATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 13 No 3, Mar 81 signed to press Feb 81 pp 302-303

/"On the Relationship Between Human Rights and Christianity"--Review by Dr Theo Mechtenberg, Gesamteuropaeisches Studienwerk (All-European Studies Program), Vlotho/Weser, of brochure "Menschenrechte in christlicher Verantwortung" (Human Rights in the Context of Christian Responsibility), published by Secretariat, Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, East Berlin, 1980/

/Text/ This brochure was issued right on time for the Madrid successor Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, but in view of the very small number of copies printed, we are bound to consider it a bibliographic rarity. It is unlikely that the publication will be available to more than a small group of clerics in the GDR. That is one more reason for publicizing it as widely as possible.

Both denominations nowadays discuss the issue of the relationship between human rights and Christianity; in fact this is the preferred topic of ecclesiastical academies. The publication of the GDR Church Federation therefore includes many views on history and theology, which are almost identical with those proposed in Western writing. In addition, though, there is a specific accent arising from the status of the "Church in socialism." This will receive special consideration in the following.

First of all, though, some stylistic aspects: The brochure is a collection of contributions by various authors. The immediate context is ecumenical; the contributions more or less tie in with the human rights conference held by the Ecumenical Council of Churches (1974) or the conference of the Lutheran World Federation on the theology of human rights (1976). The issue of "human rights in the context of Christian responsibility" therefore pursues the line of those ecumenical contributions by the Evangelical Churches in the GDR (such as [illegible]iracism program, disarmament, ecology), which were initiated by a dialogue [illegible] the council, in other words do not arise directly from the problems of the Evangelical Churches in the GDR, such as was the case in the matter of conscientious objection and military instruction. This basic statement has practical implications insofar as it helps more closely to define the importance of this brochure and the problems mentioned therein for the Evangelical rank and file. Due to the rather indirect manner of conveyance this must be taken to be rather small.

Nevertheless the GDR-specific aspect is not lacking. The reader meets it first in the introduction where Bishop Schoenherr, chairman of the GDR Church Federation, emphasizes the special "accent" of socialist countries, pointing out that behind the "struggle for elementary living conditions is the struggle against hunger, exploitation, lack of housing and unemployment" (p 3). This statement cautiously subscribes to the socialist attitude on the human rights issue, an attitude which--by contrast to bourgeois individual rights--stresses the so-called social human rights.

Elsewhere Bishop Schoenherr mentions the "independent contribution" of the GDR Church to the ecumenical discussion. Emerging here is a rather pragmatic notion "directed to active aid" and "not a Christian interpretation of human rights," which "emphasizes the theological motivation of Christians to champion the realization of human rights" (p 5). In fact the far reaching renunciation of theological considerations is striking in the brochure as a whole, with the exception of J. Garstecki's article "Theological Aspects of Human Rights" which, as a "sketch of the problem," concludes the collection and offers several rather stimulating ideas, especially for the theologian.

The limitation to (merely) theological motivation, though, is not only a self-denial surprising the theologian; it also arouses the suspicion that the critical potential of theological anthropology is not even considered in the textual discussion of that which is the right of man as such. Undue pragmatism certainly hides the danger that--to put it in a rather exaggerated manner--Christians are theologically motivated for that which real politicians of any system proffer--negatively as well as positively--as the goals of their human rights policies.

The article "Universal Human Rights," by M. Stolpe, secretary of the Church Federation, shows that this suspicion cannot be dismissed out of hand. The author is a jurist by profession. His exposee is preceded by 11 propositions which may be basically agreed--human rights are universal and their enforcement is achievable only by the confidential cooperation of states. However, the articles demonstrates that a merely legal definition of human rights does have its limits and--for the Church especially--calls not only for the motivation of Christians but also for fundamental and, at the same time, critical theological consideration. As an illustration I quote proposition 8 which refers to the GDR and runs as follows:

-- "The GDR has undertaken the international obligation in international law to realize universal human rights on its territory. It has discharged this obligation by way of its internal legislation. On a legislative basis it has used the international provided mode of application in the weighing of matters" (51).

At another point in his speculations M. Stolpe returns to this thesis and devotes a separate chapter to it: "The Realization of Universal Human Rights in the German Democratic Republic," (pp 58-60). M. Stolpe holds that the GDR offers suitable prerequisites for realizing universal human rights by "the socio-historical proximity between West European individualis on the one hand and the by now traditional socialist mentality on the other" (p 59). However, he fails to explore the tension between individual and social rights and merely provides a unilaterally individualistic interpretation of human rights as the reason for the fact that "occasionally...there is talk of deficits in the realization of human rights in the GDR" (p 59). In fact

he lists three such "deficits": Freedom of information, freedom of movement and freedom of religion. In this context M. Stolpe points out that the GDR has accepted the respective internally binding standards but is using the right of modification --in accordance with weighing of matters. The GDR modifies the guaranteed right to freedom of information, for example, so as to prevent it being used for the purpose of infiltration. At this point we clearly see the limits of a purely legalistic view of human rights. Moreover such a view has a tendency to sanction the status quo. That is reinforced additionally by the remark that the individual could "appeal to only those human rights as a claim in law, which have been given the force of law in the constitution and legislation of his country" (p 56). From the purely legal aspect that may be true, but historically human rights--as we all know perfectly well--have been won only by an emancipatory process directed against the laws then in force, and that process is continuing. The question therefore arises what is human right on the basis of historic consciousness and social conditions. That is a question which requires not only theological motivation but also a theological contribution to the establishment and textual definition of human rights--if we are to take seriously Christian responsibility with regard to human rights.

Reviewing the brochure, I deemed critical observations to be of primary importance. Of course these refer to only some items, not the publication as a whole. The brochure includes valuable information and suggestions especially for the reader in the GDR. Indeed he will find more here than in most other publications. Unfortunately the shortage of copies does not permit of much hope for wide circulation.

11698
CSO: 2300/206

JANOS PETER ON FOREIGN ISSUES, INTERNAL SITUATION

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 4 Apr 81 p 7

[Interview with Janos Peter, deputy chairman of the Hungarian National Assembly, on 4 April by BARRICADA staff: "May the Invincible Cause of Peace Protect Latin America"; place of interview not specified]

[Text] Before leaving our country for Mexico on the continuation of its tour through Latin America, the Hungarian parliamentary delegation led by Companero Janos Peter, deputy chairman of the National Assembly of Hungary, granted BARRICADA an extensive interview.

The formation of the National Assembly, Hungary's current situation and the problems of the Hungarian people were some of the interesting topics discussed by Companero Peter. He also recalled the events which took place in Budapest in 1956 and of which he gave a historical account.

Janos Peter, who is 71 years old, with a kindly appearance and cheerful disposition, was bishop of the protestant church of Hungary for a long time and also minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic for 21 years. Following World War II (from 1945 to 1949), he participated in the Paris Peace Conference and in preparing the peace treaty.

This high official, who has witnessed and actively participated in the history of Hungary, is the man who came to visit us to meet our young Council of State and whom we interviewed today. Among other things, he showed that he was quite familiar with our immortal poet Ruben Dario who--who would have thought it!--has been translated into Hungarian. Here are the replies of the deputy chairman of the National Assembly of Hungary to our questions.

BARRICADA: Companero Peter, exactly what is the National Assembly of Hungary and how does it work?

PETER: The National Assembly, the Hungarian parliament, is a very important part of Hungarian government and social life. Naturally, there are other very important social bodies in Hungary besides the National Assembly.

The most important motivating force in Hungarian society is the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP); another important body is the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, and workers' cooperatives in rural areas.

In addition to these organizations, there is a general political forum, the Patriotic National Front, which includes religious representatives.

The most important government body is the National Assembly, which functions as a legislative and regulatory force. We are now in the stage of building developed socialism.

For us, the developed socialist system means that we can combine the advantages of monopartisanism and pluralism, because these social and political bodies--which mutually assist, complement and criticize each other--advance the public interest, and their motivating force is the MSZMP.

BARRICADA: What standard of living have the Hungarian people achieved 36 years after World War II?

PETER: During the 36 years since World War II, all of Hungarian society has been transformed. National contradictions have practically disappeared; exploitation has ended.

As for the standard of living, national income has quintupled.

Industrial production--in some industries--has increased eightfold. For example, in the case of corn--which is produced in abundance in Latin America--we have achieved corn production of 6 tons per hectare.

BARRICADA: It is obvious that there has been great development, both socially and economically, in your country after facing all of the problems caused by the war, problems which have now been solved. But what kind of problems are the Hungarian people facing today?

PETER: Above all, problems of an economic nature. International tension has increased in recent years and this hinders international economic cooperation.

Some developing countries have justly raised the prices of their raw materials. Hungary is a country which imports raw materials. The prices of imported materials have risen, but not the prices of our exports.

As a result, we cannot go on raising the standard of living at the rate we did before.

We know that the standard of living, how someone lives, is something very important to every member of society. We openly tell our people that, due to international relations, we cannot raise our standard of living as before. But we are also giving much more attention to improving living conditions and the Hungarian public understands this very well. We believe that after international relations improve, we can start again to raise the standard of living in Hungary.

BARRICADA: Companero Peter, since you witnessed the events, I would like to take this opportunity to ask you to give us an explanation of the events which took place in Budapest in 1956. According to some people, those events were due to "imperialist" aims of the Soviet Union. You were bishop of the protestant church at the time ....

PETER: Well, to understand the origin of the counterrevolution in Hungary in 1956, some specific features of Hungarian history must be considered.

As you will recall, Hungary was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which lost World War I along with the German Reich.

A series of countries in central Europe emerged from the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, including the Republic of Hungarian Councils.

This state was the first socialist state formed in central Europe in 1919. This republic was overthrown by international reactionary forces. Afterwards, an anachronistic and reactionary social situation and form of government were established in Hungary, exactly the opposite of this overthrown Republic of Councils.

After 25 years of these anachronistic social relationships, the possibility arose in 1945 for Hungary to build a modern, new society. When we first started to build this new society, new international tensions developed, raising the threat of World War III, and the tragic events of 1956 must be examined in that context.

Partly because of the mistakes made by the country's leadership at that time and partly as a result of international reactionary propaganda, a good part of the population became dissatisfied and conflicts occurred which could have led to situations similar to those at the start of the Korean War. This was a process by which the Soviet Union saved Hungary from a similar bloodbath.

Now after 25 years, we have drawn our conclusions about these events. We can say quite candidly that in their 1,000-year history, the lives of the Hungarian people have never been so good and so tranquil as in this last quarter-century.

BARRICADA: How are relations between Hungary and the USSR?

PETER: Our relations are friendly. The territory of the Soviet Union, 22 million square kilometers in area, is a huge market close to our country and one which provides inestimable aid for our economic life.

I will give you an example: the world's largest bus manufacturing plant is located in Hungary. We produce 13,000 buses annually. Imagine, a small country like Hungary--93,000 square kilometers in area--can produce such a large number of buses at favorable prices, because the USSR itself buys 7,000 to 8,000 buses from Hungary annually!

BARRICADA: What is your opinion of the present situation in Poland?

PETER: With regard to Poland, we must consider that country's particular history in context. I am convinced that the Polish people, who have so far solved their own problems successfully, will also solve these current problems.

BARRICADA: What is your opinion of Nicaragua's present situation and of the threats to our revolution?

PETER: The current leaders of the Nicaraguan people have inherited a very difficult legacy from the Somoza regime. The Sandinist revolutionary leadership is striving

to achieve the goals envisioned by Simon Bolivar, who said that "we must establish patriotic governments that will correct the wrongs of tyranny and war."

When we were getting ready to come to Nicaragua, we studied the country's history and the works of your writers and poets, such as Ruben Dario.

In the first part of the century, Dario wrote a poem entitled "Ode to Roosevelt" (and at this point we were amazed to hear the work of Ruben Dario in Hungarian).

From what I have learned, this poem was written by Dario during the time of Roosevelt, whose motto was to speak softly and carry a big stick, and the people of Nicaragua have had experience with both soft words and the big stick.

But like Theodore Roosevelt, who overlooked the most important factors, the forces of imperialism are making mistakes in judgment today.

Companera, may the invincible cause of peace and progress protect the peoples of Latin America!

11915
CSO: 3010/1168

SPLIT ARCHBISHOP REVIEWS CHURCH'S ROLE IN LAST 30 YEARS

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 81 pp 7, 9

[Article prepared from interview with Frane Franic, archbishop of Split, by Dr Drago Simundza, editor in chief of the theological review CRKVA U SVIJETU; date and place not specified: "Encounter With Marxism and With Ferment in the Church"]

[Text] Dr Frane Franic, metropolitan and archbishop of Split, responding to a number of questions put to him on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of his tenure as a bishop by Dr Drago Simundza, editor in chief of the theological review CRKVA U SVIJETU, has presented a very important synthetic survey in perspective of our church affairs. This interview was published in its entirety in the review just mentioned (No 1, 1981, pages 1-13).

The archbishop divides the entire period of his tenure as a bishop into three periods: a) from 1950 to 1960, b) from 1960 to the end of 1971, and c) from 1972 to today.

After his consecration as bishop on 17 December 1950 Dr Franic served first as suffragan bishop to the late bishop of Split, and then on 26 June 1954 he took over administration of the Episcopate of Split as apostolic administrator, and at the end of 1960 Pope John XXIII named him bishop of Split. In 1969 the ancient Archepiscopate and Metropolitanate of Split was revived, and Dr Frane Franic became the first archbishop and metropolitan after the revival. Even at the time when he was appointed bishop Dr Franic was a very energetic professor at the Split University's School of Theology and superintendent of the theological seminary there. His tenure as a professor of theology terminated only at the end of 1979. As a theological specialist he is distinguished by his very careful following of all the intellectual developments in European and world theology and philosophy and by his particularly preoccupied and courageous reflection and effort on his own to arrive at a conception of the identity of our own church in its social and cultural environment in the light of those developments and reflections.

A Century and a Half Before the Friendly Encounter of Christianity and Marxism

The first period, which actually represents the first decade of his tenure as a bishop, Archbishop Frane Franic characterizes by the difficulties that arose for our domestic church out of its encounter with Marxism. The archbishop has in

large part presented his studies and reflections in the book "Putovi dialoga" [Pathways of Dialog]. In this interview the archbishop now has this to say on that subject:

"Marxism and Christianity are two ways of life which can be reconciled or meet on friendly terms only under the condition that Marxism abandons, in theory and in PRACTICE, its specific atheism, and this, as I foresee it, will happen very slowly and with great pain in a lengthy historical process similar to that historical process of the early Christianity in conflict with Judeo-Greco-Roman culture, which lasted some 300 years. If we take 1848, the date of the Communist Manifesto, as the origin of communism, then we might say that approximately half of the period I predict has already passed. That has been my thought and it is now my thought, since Marxism is not a philosophy like any other, but is a difficult way of life through which all humanity and the Christian faith must pass in order to purify themselves along that road and take from socialism, especially self-management socialism, which I hold to be a more humanistic form of Marxism than the others, that which truly has lasting value, and that is the liberation of man from ancient enslavement to capital and to material and transient creations in general, and thereby become, these men and these Christians, masters of the EARTH, as God meant for them to be at the outset of their creation, and cease to be the slaves of the EARTH and gods on earth: money, career and pleasure, and indeed slaves of social and cultural commodities, and become masters."

Cherished Memories of the Fifties

At this point the archbishop recalled the troubles he had to go through when he himself was caught up in the current conflict between Marxism and Christianity. After he issued the ban on joining professional societies of clergymen in 1953, pursuant to the official stand taken by the church, he was on several occasions the victim of demonstrations, it is known that he was even physically attacked, and this ceased only in 1958. The archbishop recalls:

"I have especially fond recollections from 1958 of those parishes in which those demonstrations were most fierce: Nova Sela-Borovci, Metkov[illegible]idonje, Makarska and Omis, above all because of the loyalty of those parishes and of the church members and priests from those and nearby towns and parishes toward me. For the same reasons I also have unforgettable memories of Lovrec in 1953, Gradac in 1956 and Okruk in 1958.

"The most difficult events for me dating from that first period was the closing of the two seminaries by the civil court because of 'hostile activity.' I felt personally responsible for that unpleasant event, though in the trial I was not charged as the bishop, but someone else was charged, that is, two seminarists and two priests. At that time I received a letter from Cardinal Stepinac--I mention this for the sake of factual history--who gave me encouragement on the difficult road I had started out on."

The Tears of the Good Pope

Passing on to the second period of his tenure as a bishop--from 1960 to the end of 1971--the archbishop characterized this period by the historical relaxation or detente between Christianity and Marxism. Stalin died, Pope John XXIII took office. This pope had optimistic hopes that Marxism would be able to abandon its atheism and enrich history with some of its constructive contributions. However, the archbishop said, "after that statement of the pope, there were the elections in Italy and the Christian-Democrats lost several million Christian votes in those elections. They say that the good pope cried at that time and blamed himself for the world not having understood him."

The archbishop went on to talk about how internal difficulties within the church itself began to develop in that period, especially after the Second Vatican Council. The archbishop described his own point of view during and after the council by saying that he favored "the pope's full primacy in the church and in the college of bishops and the so-called constitutive tradition (and not merely explicative)." This means that the teaching of the church down through all the centuries of the church is not just an authorized interpreter of what is to be found in the Bible, but itself bears authentic revelation which is dedicated to the apostles, and also develops and arrives at increasingly better understanding of the entire revelation through the lasting and effective presence of the Holy Spirit, building the entire life of the church, church thought and practice, so that the individual elements of that church life cannot be rejected or expurgated through what purports to be criticism to the effect that they do not exist in the Bible or did not exist in previous periods of the church, but emerged and took shape later.

Nor was that second period without external difficulties. At this point the archbishop especially mentioned the "futile effort to obtain a permit to build Saint Peter's Church. In 1962 the secondary and postsecondary seminaries in Split were reopened, and the number of candidates exceeded all previous records. In referring to the revival of the Split Metropolitanate in 1969, which also embraced the Sibenik, Hvar, Dubrovnik and Kotor episcopates, Archbishop Franic expressed the desire for the Zadar Archepiscopate to be included in the Southern Croatia Church District, retaining its title of an archepiscopate.

Dialog Broken Off Because God Is at Issue

Moving on to his portrayal of the third period of his tenure as a bishop, from 1972 to the present time, the archbishop said:

"This period of my life and work as a bishop is characterized by a kind of synthesis of the two previous periods. The dialog between Marxism and Christianity was unilaterally broken off by the other side, while the rest of us are always ready to resume that dialog. However, it has been stated from the top that this dialog is superfluous, since it cannot resolve the basic problem of whether there is a God or not."

Here the archbishop briefly turned to certain disagreements within the clergy which emerged in our country during this period. In spite of the effort for individuals

and institutions to be rescued in each individual case, there were those who dropped out of the ranks of priests, monks, nuns and members of the church.

Dr Drago Simundza then asked the archbishop to talk about the events in the church related to the council, in our Croatian church in particular. The archbishop emphasized the need for progress in science and discipline within the church, especially in pastoral care, which should always be adapted to conditions. Progress of science and culture is contributing to better understanding of the Divine Revelation. It is certain, however, that "the mission of the church and its doctrine cannot undergo essential change," that the Gospel "is essentially unchanged in itself, since it has been revealed once and for all by God in a supernatural way."

"It is clear, then, that every true believer must at the same time be a great traditionalist and a great progressivist. The division of progressivism from traditionalism in the church is equivalent to dividing Christ's human nature from his divine nature and the human from the divine nature of his church. In this case a dissension within the church is inevitable. The council, then, signifies and confirms the old church which is undergoing renewal, but does not revolutionize it. Were anyone, even in our local conversations, to understand this differently, this would be a major misunderstanding."

The Church Cannot Be Organized According to the Principles of Self-Management Socialism

The editor of CRKVA U SVIJETU then called upon the archbishop to speak about the variety of more recent theological directions, especially about "whether one can count on new forms of the church in the new era and possibly in new societies and cultures." The archbishop replied:

"Yes, some of our theologians tell us that the church has in its history adapted to all social systems, and that it can and must adapt today, say, to self-management socialism. The reference here is to certain new foundations of the present church and to the introduction of certain new and, it would seem, essentially new church structures. It is also said that this is in fact the doctrine of the Second Vatican Council.

"I hold that this is an altogether mistaken interpretation of the council and of church history. The church has indeed adapted to all social systems, for example, even to slave-owning society, and feudal society, and today to capitalistic and socialistic society.... However, the church did not introduce into its structures either the slave-owning system or the feudalistic system or the capitalistic system, so accordingly it cannot introduce the system of self-management socialism into its structures either. In this sense neither the church nor its theology, nor its pastoral work can be based on the principles of self-management socialism, nor can they enter into self-management socialism as a part or branch, since this socialism of ours, though it be a more humanistic form of Marxism and dictatorship of the proletariat, is still essentially aimed at creating a new civilization which is supposed to be without God, i.e., this self-management socialism is essentially based on Marxism, which within itself essentially (!) includes atheism and atheization, even though this be carried out in a more humanistic way. On the other

hand, to say that if we organized on the foundation of the principles of self-management socialism, we will 'enter their house and effect a transformation from within' of that socialism--is to make use of a deceptive diplomacy and certain half-truths and signifies entering the house of another in a crafty way, while Christ, we know, ordered us to do what we do sincerely and openly and not to enter the house of another as a deception, but to clearly say as we enter: 'Mir kuci ovoj' [Peace be on this house], and if we are received in the name of Christ, then we remain and we bless what is placed before us, but if we are not received, then we shake the dust from our shoes and from our feet. There is nothing worse than for Christ's disciple to use lies and crafty ways in preaching the Gospel.

"The church has adapted and does adapt to all social systems, just as a mother adapts to her child, but she does not become a child, but the child becomes an adult and becomes intelligent; she uses baby talk not in order to reinforce its baby talk, but in order to adapt to it and to teach it to speak correctly. But some people seem to be afraid of the cross in announcing the Gospel, though they boast of their heroism, and therefore adapt to the world excessively.

"On the contrary, it is the task of the church to evangelize not merely people, but also social systems and entire cultures, taking up, of course, everything that is good in them. In its evangelical task the church must be FREE AND POOR, and may not receive money from any state, either democratic or socialist, if it wishes to remain free after the prophets, which is its essential mission. This is also the principle of John Paul II. And only in this way, if it is free of the powers that be of this world--the powers that be of money, the powers that be of weapons, the powers that be of ideologies--can the church successfully perform its mission entrusted to it by Christ, which is that it be Christ's coworker in saving man and the world."

Theology Cannot Be a Test-Tube Baby

The editor went on to insist on the influence of the so-called factor of history on the church in the future. The archbishop continued:

"The historical factor does inevitably have an influence on the church, since the church is for men and lives among them, since the church has both a human and a divine nature, just like Christ. Events are always a challenge for the church and for Christians, theologians in particular. However, I have a vision of a THEOLOGY which would preserve its original identity, and this means that it would remain KNOWLEDGE OF THE FAITH--scientia fidei, and by no means some servant of politics--ancilla politicae.

"It is a precondition that theology be and remain the way it is, to remain in the community of faith of the believer, and not to operate in society like some structure of that society, whether it be a bourgeois or a socialist society. This passing over of theology into the social sector I have always thought, and think today, to be an essential deviation and antichurch structure.

"The science of theology has and should have its autonomy, just like any other science, but this autonomy must range within the precincts of the Catholic 'hierarchical community,' as the council said, and not outside that community, since in that

case theology would be like a baby conceived and developed in a test tube, rather than in its mother's womb. And where would such a theology end up!"

Who Scorns the "Peasant's Faith"?

The next question concerned the status and development of theology in our domestic church: "Can one speak at all about our own Croatian theology?" The archbishop responded as follows:

"I do not believe in any Croatian theology, just as I do not believe in any Croatian medicine, technology, and so on. I do nevertheless think that we Croatian Catholics, though we are a small people, could also contribute to world theological thought, just as in our history we have always contributed to Western culture. The condition for this authentic contribution of ours is that we be faithful to our religious tradition, as the Poles have been, for example, and build on that tradition our own contemporary point of view, for example, toward socialism, toward the revolution being led by Marxism, toward the hungry in the world, toward ecology, and so on. But when I hear that someone heedlessly makes fun of the 'peasant's faith' from which we are all descended, then my hope for a 'Croatian theology,' that is, my hope for our authentic contribution to world theology declines; that is, in this way we are cutting off the root we grew from."

Speaking about the possibilities for a better organization and more concerted activity within our present church, Archbishop Franic said:

"Our church today, as I have said, is rather divided. Perhaps only history will demonstrate who is responsible for that. Now we must all work for a united faith and discipline, rallying around the Holy See, around our dear Pope John II, without being taken in by those who make fun of our past and our traditional devotion to the Holy See.

"In this context quite a bit could be done: for example, I have already written about this in the herald of our archepiscopate--even the college of bishops itself could make progress if its representative office, that is, its business committee, were to be more active, i.e., meet more frequently. Then the college of bishops might be a real leader of our domestic church."

Why It Seems That We Have No Laity

The archbishop's answer to the question about the real role and possibilities of lay believers in our domestic church was brief, clear and pregnant.

"Today our Catholic laymen have been almost completely pushed 'out of bounds.' Before the war these laymen were very much involved in church affairs. Their passivity today originates to some extent from their fear and to some extent from neoclericalism and neo-Constantinism, which, altogether unnoted, are developing in our church. In our opinion, these are facts which might be given lengthy commentary and interpretation."

Dr Simundza asked: "What is your vision of our church in the future: what can we hope for, and what can be preserved even today? Will the church remain faithful to its ideals, that is, will future generations accept it as it is?"

"My vision of the church is the vision of the Kingdom of God on the earth, which liberates man from sin and leads him to eternal life, using in this effort the preaching of the Gospel, the giving of the sacraments and the greatest correctness in leadership in the purely religious and moral field. This, then, would be a spiritualized and depoliticized church, which would not make use of any regime, nor any politics, neither right nor left, so that it would adhere precisely to the principle set down by Christ: 'Render to God what is God's, and to Caesar what is Caesar's.' There must be no room here for any sort of religious revolutions, nor for attempts to sacralize science, politics and art, just as we expect that there will be no ideologization of religion, science and politics.

"Nevertheless, nor may our church of the future live outside its historical context; that is, it would have to contribute through its religious and moral action to the creation of a more humanistic culture and civilization, for example, to liberation of man as a worker from his age-old enslavement to capital.

"It is also a fine thing to imagine the struggle of the future workers' world for its worker rights, but against capital, with the image of the Holy Virgin and Holy Father held on high."

Two Types of Our Marxists

The next question concerned the influence of Marxism on the piety of our people, the young generation especially. The answer was this:

"Today there are two basic interpretations of Marxist religiologists concerning the origin of religion. One group, the humanists, hold that religion originated in man's NATURE and actually consisted of man's internal need to DREAM about eternal life, which could be very worthwhile and also progressive in society. For example, this was Bloch's interpretation of religion, especially the religion of the Israelite prophets and the Gospel. The other Marxists interpret religion as a distorted reflection of social conditions and unresolved social contradictions. According to them, religion is not a lasting human phenomenon, but depends on external conditions. In the first case religion is something inherently human which will always endure, and in the other religion is a reflection, used in the sense of Todor Pavlov's theory of reflection, of external conditions, and in this interpretation it signifies MAN'S ALIENATION from nature, from society and from himself. Accordingly, it can in no case represent anything progressive, and it therefore experiences retrogression and disappears as socialism advances, they assert.

"Among our Marxists there are representatives of both schools of thought. The first is not orthodox Marxism, while the latter is ORTHODOX AND IS TAUGHT IN OUR SCHOOLS, though in practice there is an effort to grant certain basic freedoms to religions.

"We hope that little by little the former interpretation will prevail and that socialism will thus become i) reasingly humanistic.

"Of course, religion will not lose its internal tie with man just because someone denies it."

At the end of the conversation, after the editor Dr Simundza recalled his Christmas greetings to our workers and emigres in the world, which Radio Cologne carried last Christmas, Archbishop Franic talked about ecumenical relations in our environment. Relations with the Orthodox Church have shown a certain improvement in southern Croatia, the bishops of the two churches are exchanging Christmas and Easter greetings, and Archbishop Franic attended the celebration of the Eucharist in the Orthodox Saint Sava's parish chapel in Split.

"As for our brother Moslems, as you know, they are divided from us by religious differences, but we feel close to them because of our common history. I think this is a good foundation for developing ever better human and interpersonal relations and dialogs.'

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BRIEFS

MEMBERSHIP IN MACEDONIAN LC--The League of Communists of Macedonia today has about 140,000 members, while at the end of 1980 there were 137,354. In comparison with the year before that, there has been an increase of more than 13,000 newly accepted members. Of the total, 60,245 are in the production sector, 40,744 in the non-production sector and 36,335 in the basic organizations of the LC of the local communities. One-fourth of all the membership in the LC of Macedonia, according to last year's indicators, are younger than 27 years old, a total of 30,014 or 64.66 percent [sic] of the total number members. This visible trend toward increasing the number of communists was positively evaluated at yesterday's session of the Commission of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the LC of Macedonia for Organization and Development of the LC (president Bosko Stankovski) at which various executive secretaries of the opstina organizations gave a number of reports on the situation in their areas. They stated, through realistic and critical follow-up, that in spite of the good results, the fact is that even this is not sufficient, and there is much more that can still be done in almost every opstina. There is no excuse, for example, for the passive attitude of the large number of basic organizations which did not accept even one new member last year. There is no excuse either for the fact that in spite of the increasing membership and the positive social structure of the LC (workers are represented by 28 percent, agricultural producers by 5.5 percent, etc.), the real needs and objective possibility are not being met. [Text] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 29 Apr 81 p 3]

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MAY 22, 1981